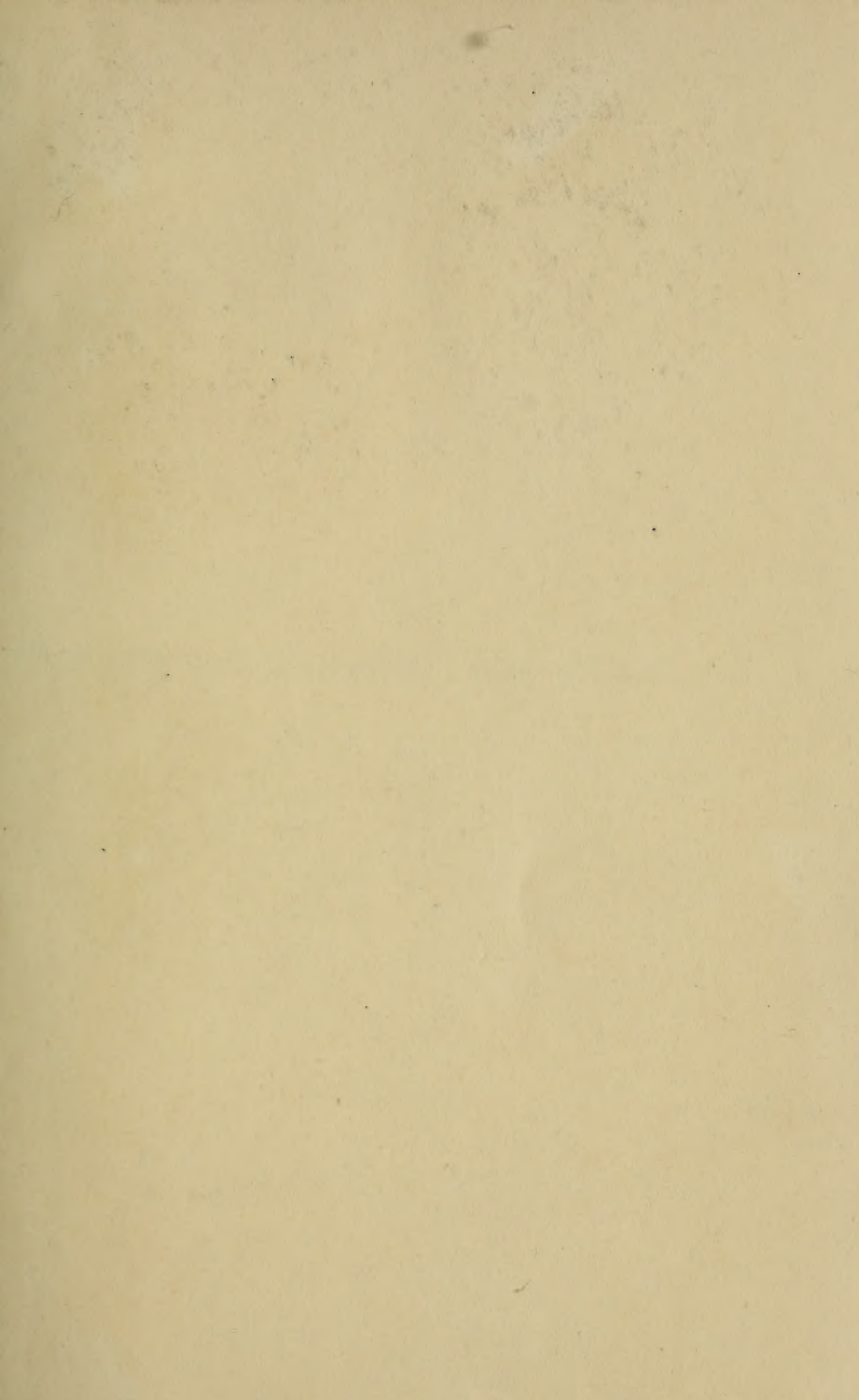


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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# CYPRUS UNDER BRITISH RULE



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# CYPRUS UNDER BRITISH RULE

BY

CAPTAIN C. W. J. ORR

*Author of "The Making of Northern Nigeria"*

WITH MAP

152143  
6-9-19

LONDON: ROBERT SCOTT  
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MCMXVIII

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O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique,  
 Sperne dilectam Cypron, et vocantis  
 Thure te multo Glyceræ decoram  
 Transfer in ædem.

HORACE. *Ode xxx. Lib. I.*

ἰκοίμην ποτὶ τὰν Κύπρον  
 νῦσον τῆς Ἀφροδίτας  
 ἵν' οἱ θελξίφρονες νέμον —  
 ται θανατοῖσιν Ἔρωτας  
 Πάφον θ', ἂν ἐκατόστομοι  
 βαρβάρου ποταμοῦ ῥοαί  
 καρπιζουσιν ἄνομβρον  
 ὅπου καλλιστενομένα  
 Πιερίᾳ μούσειος ἔδρα  
 σεμνὰ κλιτὺς Ολύμπου  
 ἐκεῖσ' ἄγε με, Βρόμιε, Βρόμιε,  
 προβακχίῃ δαῖμον  
 ἐκεῖ Χάριτες, ἐκεῖ πόθος  
 ἐκεῖ δ' ἔβακχαισι θέμις ὀργιάζειν

EURIPIDES. *Bacchæ* 400.

Idalian Aphrodite beautiful,  
 Fresh as the foam, new-bathed in Paphian wells,  
 With rosy slender fingers backward drew  
 From her warm brows and bosom her deep hair  
 Ambrosial, golden round her lucid throat  
 And shoulder ; from the violets her light foot  
 Shone rosy-white, and o'er her rounded form  
 Between the shadows of the vine branches  
 Floated the glowing sunlight, as she moved.

TENNYSON. *Oenone.*



## PREFACE.

NOT many years ago a newly appointed High Commissioner of Cyprus was received by the Secretary of State for the Colonies before leaving England to take up his duties. "There are in Cyprus I believe," said the Secretary of State, "a number of interesting and valuable antiquities. I trust that you will see that they are adequately preserved and cared for. I wish you a successful tour of office. Good-bye."

It is in the hope that the interest in Cyprus taken by the general public may be somewhat less limited than that displayed by the responsible minister in the incident just recorded that I have written this book. My self-imposed task has been to describe only the somewhat dull and unromantic details of administration, and readers who desire to learn something of the interesting and valuable antiquities, or of the scenery of this beautiful island or the manners and customs of its inhabitants, must look elsewhere. For information about the antiquities, the delightful pages of Cesnola's monumental work should be consulted, and some idea of the romantic charm of the island and its beautiful scenery may be gleaned from Mr. Mallock's well-known book, *An Enchanted Island*. A veritable mine of information is contained in Messrs. Lukach and Jardine's *Handbook of Cyprus*, which discourses charmingly on all subjects, from the ancient history, geological formation, and ornithology of the island to the price of eggs, hotel charges, and the prevalence of fleas. In addition to such sources of information, a report is issued annually and presented to both Houses of Parliament, containing much useful information regarding the finance, trade, and general progress of the island. I know of no publication however which gives a connected account of British administration in Cyprus, or describes the conditions under which we have occupied it since 1878 and continue to hold it.

As a nation we pride ourselves on our liberal institutions and democratic form of Government. But do we sufficiently realize that democracy has its responsibilities as well as its privileges? We boast of our Empire on which the sun never sets, but how many of us take the trouble to acquaint ourselves with the manner in which the component parts of that Empire are administered, or even where a large number of them are situated? Eminent persons who should be well-informed have asked me questions about Cyprus which reveal quite plainly the fact that they confuse it with Crete: others have shown complete ignorance of the most elementary facts connected with the island. When well-informed persons display such lack of knowledge, how much can one expect the mass of the community to know or care? Is it right to leave the affairs of an island with a quarter of a million inhabitants to the tender mercies of a Government Department, busy with a couple of score of other communities and their problems, and to ask no questions, offer no criticisms?

If this small book succeeds in inducing anyone to ponder over the problems of Cyprus, or the system of Crown Colony administration in general, it will have fulfilled its purpose. But if by chance it goes further and arouses in anyone who reads it a feeling that England in its treatment of Cyprus since 1878 has in any way failed in the generosity and liberality expected of a Great Power in dealing with its dependencies, surely there is a duty imposed on such a person to urge that we should set our house in order, and make good without delay any shortcoming of which we may have been guilty in the past? We are fond of representing ourselves as the champions of small nationalities and peoples, and we boast of our hatred of injustice, oppression, and illiberality in any form. It behoves us, therefore, to take especial care that in our relations with our dependencies our attitude and actions should be above reproach, and that we have nothing on our conscience for which we can be justly condemned in the eyes of civilization.

C. W. J. O.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE island of Cyprus lies in a secluded corner of the Eastern Mediterranean, stretching out a long finger towards the angle where the coast of Asia Minor, running east and west, meets the Syrian coast-line running north and south. The picturesque range of hills fringing its northern shores looks across at the towering heights of the Taurus mountains which skirt the Cilician coast ; and on a clear day of early spring, when a brilliant sun shines in a cloudless sky, and the snow covered mountains stand out dazzling white against the azure background, an observer looking across the blue expanse which separates him from the opposite coast might well be deceived into imagining himself on the shore of some beautiful lake ; yet more than forty miles of sea separates Cyprus from the mainland. To the east, south, and west nothing is visible but a great expanse of sea, though it is said that on very clear days the Syrian coast, sixty miles away, can be discerned as a faint line on the eastern horizon. Egypt lies two hundred and thirty miles to the south, whilst westward there is no land nearer than Crete and the Ægean islands, nearly two hundred miles away.

Geographically, Cyprus belongs to the Asiatic continent ; ethnologically and climatically it may claim kinship with both Europe and Asia. The short winter lasting from December to February is not unlike the same season in Sicily and Southern Europe generally. At times a fierce wind sweeps down from the North, bringing with it an icy blast from the Taurus snows ; and in the island itself the mountains, which rise to a height of more than six thousand feet, are under snow

for some months, and a keen wind is carried from them to the plain below. Even during the winter months, however, though the nights are cold the days are warmed by bright sunshine, and fires are hardly necessary except in the evenings and early mornings. By late February or early March spring has already set in, and the island is carpeted with a wealth of wild flowers. Fields of yellow daisies, red tulips, purple irises, scarlet gladioli, white narcissus, and many coloured anemones meet the eye everywhere, and by the end of March the landscape is green with young barley, dotted with scarlet poppies and brought into vivid relief by stretches here and there of bare, uncultivated land or brown fields under plough, awaiting the sowing of later crops. The winter rains which fall in November and December soften the baked ground, and enable the farmer to plough and sow his fields. In March and April showers fall at intervals and refresh the young crops now well above ground, and fill out the grain. By the end of April the fields of barley have ripened into yellow, though the wheat is still green. Soon reaping begins under a hot sun and clear sky; the fields are full of men, women, and children, whose bright coloured garments—red, saffron, violet, brown, pale pink—against the background of yellow corn, as they reap, form a picture of singular fascination. By June the sun's rays have gathered force and a hot wind begins to blow like a blast from a furnace. The bare fields assume a dull, monotonous yellow-brown appearance, and are baked and scorched by the pitiless sun. The broad treeless plains lose any resemblance they may have had to a European scene, and disclose their kinship with Asia and the East. The heat is reminiscent only of the tropics—of the plains of India and the broad expanse of the Soudan. Fortunate are the dwellers in the hill villages, which nestle in well-watered valleys on the slopes of the great Troodos range, cool in their elevation of three, four, and even five thousand feet above sea level. If the villagers were obliged to endure the rigour of winter snow and ice, they can now

enjoy the cool mountain air and look down pityingly on their kinsfolk in the scorched plains below, amidst whirling clouds of dust or the still more dreadful calm of a burning summer day without even a breeze to stir the heavy atmosphere.

Through all the heat of the early summer months, the farmers are threshing their corn on the open threshing floors outside the villages, winnowing it in the evening breeze, and, when the Government tithe has been measured and removed, taking the remainder on donkeys or in carts to their own houses and the merchants' stores. In autumn comes the gathering of the carob bean and the olive, and in the foothills the terraced vineyards are heavy with clustering grapes. By mid-October, the sweltering heat of the past few months in the plains has begun to abate and the nights are cool once more, but the parched soil and scorched vegetation await the coming of the winter rains. Soon clouds begin to bank up, only to disappear in tantalizing fashion again and again just at the moment when they seem to be on the point of bursting and drenching the thirsty earth with longed-for rain. But at last it comes ; at first running off the baked earth in a thousand tiny rivulets till the crust is softened and the soil sucks up the moisture, and little blades of grass begin to peep out and change the face of the bare and colourless plain. Soon the fields are dotted with the figures of peasants in their loose black breeches and coloured shirts, walking behind primitive wooden ploughs drawn by a pair of somewhat attenuated oxen, or perhaps an ox and an ass yoked together. And so throughout the winter months of December and January, amidst alternations of refreshing rain and grey skies, and bright sunshine and blue skies, the work of ploughing and preparing the fields and of sowing for the next harvest goes on incessantly until spring comes again with its wealth of fresh green and brilliant colour, and Nature renews herself once more.

There is nothing of the *vieux monde qui s'ennuie* about Cyprus village life, although the place of Cyprus in history

belongs to a misty and romantic past rather than to the bustling and prosaic present. There are no cities, no industrial centres where man has disfigured the fair face of Nature with hideous factory chimneys and polluted the air with columns of black smoke. The Turkish and the Greek elements of which the population is composed live apart, in the towns in separate quarters, in the country in separate villages. The vast majority of the people are peasant farmers, for agriculture is practically the sole industry ; and they are small farmers indeed, for the average holding is but half an acre. Each village is a little entity of its own ; it elects its own *Mukhtar* or headman every two years, and this functionary is usually somewhat of a despot, often the richest and most powerful man in the community. Except in the very small villages each has its own school and its own church or mosque. Indeed, the first thing that strikes the traveller in the districts inhabited mainly by the Orthodox Christian element is the large and somewhat pretentious stone church in the centre of each village, rising out of the cluster of little dull-coloured, sun-baked mud houses ; for however poor a village may be—and some are poor indeed—the inhabitants invariably contribute sufficient funds to build themselves a church, giving the labour themselves, fetching the stone in their own carts—sometimes from a considerable distance—and taking a pride in erecting a building which may be deemed fit for their spiritual needs.

There is a charm and simplicity about the peasantry of every country, and in addition to this there is a gaiety and *joie de vivre* in those fortunate regions of southern Europe, where all the year round the sun shines in a clear, blue sky, and the days are hot without being oppressive. Village life in Cyprus, devoted as it is entirely to agriculture, runs smoothly year by year, and probably does not differ very greatly from what it has been for centuries past. Work in the fields throughout the year is fairly constant but never strenuous ; harvest time is busy, but it is then, in those beautiful May days,

that the sun shines most brightly in the clear sky and the air is soft and spring-like and the nights warm. It is good to see the brightly clad figures of the reapers in the fields, and to hear their laughter and the merry sound of their voices ; when night comes the villager will sleep beside the corn stack, piled high near the threshing floor, under a sky studded with myriads of stars. In ordinary times the inhabitants of every village will gather towards sunset outside the little cafés, and sit there smoking and gossiping and sipping coffee till long after night has fallen.

But the great days are Sundays and Saints' Days, or, in the case of the Turkish villages, Fridays and Festivals. Let us, for example, pay a visit in Greek Easter-time to one of the villages on the northern coast that looks across to the opposite coast of Asia Minor. It lies in a sheltered valley a little way up the range of hills, looking down on the sea breaking lazily against a rocky coast. A stream runs sparkling beside the steep main street, and is led off by a score of tiny irrigation channels into the terraced fruit orchards and vineyards below. The sun sets ; the church bells toll, and the villagers flock to the little church to attend the Good Friday service. Inside is a coffin, decked with flowers, and the church is packed with peasants bearing in their hands tall yellow candles which they obtain from a tray at the entrance and light from their neighbour's. One by one they approach the coffin, and, reverently kneeling before it, bend and kiss it, and then pass on and mingle again with the crowd. The priest drones in a monotonous, sing-song voice, pausing every now and then for the responses ; the crowd wears an aspect of reverence and solemnity, and towards midnight begins to melt away, the people returning in silence to their homes. On Sunday morning the village is astir early, every one dressed in their best ; a blue and white flag floats from the church, and most of the houses and shops are decorated with flags and banners. The cake and sweet sellers' stalls are piled high with delicacies of every kind, and the café

keepers have set out all available tables and chairs in front of their cafés, and have made ready an ample supply of coffee and wine. After church, the day is given over to merriment and rejoicing. There are processions, dancing, feasting, speech-making, and music; men, women, and children flock in from the outlying villages and join in the festivities. Large quantities of the rough wine of the island are consumed, and by nightfall, perhaps, some quarrelling or brawling takes place outside the cafés; but, for the most part, the crowd is merry and good-humoured, and intent on enjoying their Easter holiday.

In the Turkish villages very similar scenes may be observed at Bairam after the long fast of Ramadan, or on one of the other Mahomedan festival days. Here is a Turkish village which lies in a picturesque valley amongst the lower slopes of the mountain range which rises from the central plains, and culminates in the great peak of Mount Olympus. It looks down on to the flat, treeless plain below, green with young barley in the spring, with here and there patches of red-brown earth where a field has been ploughed for a late crop, and across this to the graceful contour of the Northern range, clear cut against the sky. To the left is a wide, sweeping bay in which a narrow rim of yellow beach lies sharply defined against the background of dark-blue sea, on which the white sails of a few fishing boats stand out clearly, the whole picture lit by the brilliant sun of a clear spring morning. The village itself is a maze of orange groves, for it is famous for its oranges, and fruit growing is its staple industry. The sound of running water is to be heard everywhere, and the hum of insects among the orange trees. Little narrow lanes, bordered by the high walls of sun-baked brick which enclose the orange plantations, wander tortuously up the hillside on which the village lies, and lead to the open space where the bazaars are situated and the shopkeepers display their wares. On a slight eminence, rising from the tangle of houses, stands the mosque with its graceful minaret overlooking the town.

The day being a Mahomedan festival, the streets are full of holiday makers who have donned their gayest costumes, many of them wearing flowers pinned to their fezzes. In a red-tiled, two-storied house of lath and plaster, a venerable old Turkish gentleman, in black frock coat, dark trousers, elastic-sided boots, and red fez, is entertaining visitors who have called in accordance with custom to pay their respects on this day of festival. Coffee and cigarettes are brought in on a tray by a youth clad in loose, baggy, white breeches, pale blue stockings with ornamental red designs, shirt of pale primrose, and a richly embroidered waistcoat. On another tray are sweets, and apricots in syrup—for the Turk has a sweet tooth—which are handed round to the guests, for each of whom a long silver fork is provided, with which he helps himself to the fruit. The host sits on a divan, smoking a cigarette and discussing with his guests all the local news—the prospects of next season's fruit crop, the profit to be made from the one recently placed on the market, the weather, neighbours' affairs, and all such matters of local interest. In the narrow lanes the figure of a Turkish lady is seen occasionally, clad in a loose gown of dark plum colour or black, her face completely hidden by the *yashmak*, and only a pair of beady black eyes showing. As night falls the shops in the bazaars are lit up, the musicians play merry jigs outside the cafés, little coloured lanterns are hung in gay festoons from the minaret to the roof of the mosque, and here and there a group of people may be seen sitting round a venerable old Turk who is telling one of those wonderful tales in which all Orientals delight; the story is followed with breathless interest, its witticisms greeted with shouts of laughter and rounds of applause.

Such are typical scenes of Cyprus village life. Life in the three or four coast towns differs little from it, in spite of the comparative sophistication of which electric light and cinema shows are the outward and visible signs. There is, of course, more luxury and less simplicity than in the villages, more

graduation of the social scale, more display and extravagance on the one hand, more squalor and poverty on the other. The event of the week is the arrival of the weekly mail steamer from Egypt. The pier is crowded with baskets of fruit, sacks of potatoes, casks of wine, and other local produce awaiting shipment to Egypt, whilst close to the beach is a penfold of attenuated sheep destined for the Alexandria market, and possibly a few oxen and swine. There is much bustle and stir when the steamer is signalled, and the shipping agents hurry to the pier and everywhere there is eager curiosity to hear what news the mail will bring. In a short time the steamer is hard at work discharging cargo and taking in the live stock and the produce ready for shipment, and the work often continues till far into the night ; but at last it is completed, and as the smoke of the departing steamer is seen on the horizon, the town settles down once more to its normal life, and awaits the return of the steamer the following week, when the same scenes will be enacted in the same manner, with only trifling variations according to the season of the year.

Village life in Cyprus in the twentieth century differs little in all probability from what it has been for the last three thousand years. The sun-baked mud houses, the paved threshing floors, the primitive agricultural implements, all recall the shadowy past, the days of the earliest civilization. The wooden plough, with its pointed metal shaft, is of the same pattern as those which are to be seen portrayed on the walls of ancient Egyptian temples, and similar ones must have been in use for thousands of years. Many of the customs and superstitions of the Cypriot peasants are palpable legacies from the remote past when their ancestors worshipped at the temples of Isis or Aphrodite. It is a curious reflection that the descendants of the rude savages who inhabited Britain when Cyprus stood in the forefront of civilization should, after the lapse of so many centuries, have come from across the seas to aid Cyprus to rise from its long sleep, and regain some at least of its former prosperity.

## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORY TO THE BRITISH OCCUPATION.

CYPRUS at the present day lies in a peaceful backwater, almost out of earshot of the ceaseless hum of the busy world, and removed from the great arteries of commerce along which flows the trade of the world. *Rusticus expectat dum defluit amnis*. Yet, in the early days of civilization, Cyprus occupied a vantage ground which was only too readily appreciated by the nations which fought for supremacy all round her, and it is merely the shifting of the centre of gravity of civilization further west which has left the little island stranded and lonely. Its early history is lost in the mists of antiquity, but the island attained a celebrity all its own in the annals of mythology. It was from the waves that beat upon the coast at Paphos that Aphrodite, the foam-born goddess, sprang; and although the noble altars erected for her worship have long since vanished from those shores, you shall see their site to this day.

ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη  
ἐς Πάφον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τεμένος βωμός τε θυήεις\*·

So we read in Homer. But long before this, Cyprus was visited by the Phœnicians, who established trading stations on her coasts and were the first to work the famous copper mines which are supposed by some to have given the island its name; and before the Phœnicians, again, Cyprus had been invaded and conquered by the Egyptians. This event took place in the fifteenth century before the Christian era, during

\* So she to Cyprus came, laughter-loving Aphrodite,  
To Paphos; there she has a shrine and an altar fragrant with incense.  
ODYSSEY VIII., 362

the reign of Thothmes III., of the eighteenth dynasty, and is the first positive information we possess as to the early history of the island.

When we enquire who were the inhabitants found by the Egyptians when they conquered the island, we are confronted by a difficult problem. In the Old Testament we find frequent references to Kittim, or Chittim, and the Jewish historian Josephus identifies this with the island of Cyprus. The ancient Phœnician settlement which played a great part in the subsequent history of Cyprus, and close to which was built the modern town of Larnaca, was called Citium, or Kitium, and the name survives to this day in the title of the bishop of the diocese. In the tenth chapter of Genesis we find Kittim mentioned as one of the sons of Javan. We are justified, therefore, in supposing that the race found in the island when the Egyptians invaded it in the fifteenth century were of Javanian, that is to say, of Ionian, origin.

This conclusion has been fortified by the discovery in the island of inscriptions in Cyprian characters which bear a striking resemblance to the old Lycian script : its decipherment has proved that this language is of Aryan or Indo-Germanic and not of Semitic origin. Examination shows that the words which the Cyprian characters express are much the same as those used by the early Greeks, and we may conclude that it comes from the same parent stock as that of Greece, though the characters have little or no resemblance to Greek characters, which are usually believed to be of Phœnician origin. We may presume then that long before the Egyptian conquest Cyprus was colonized by settlers of Aryan origin coming from the direction of Phrygia, though we have no guide as to the aborigines whom these settlers displaced or inter-married with.

The traces of the Egyptian conquest are scanty, and it seems to have left but little impress on the island ; it was probably limited to the payment of tribute and the acknowledgment of dependence. During the reign of Rameses III.

the Cypriots appear to have joined the Phœnicians in an unsuccessful attempt to throw off the yoke of Egypt; but as the years passed the power of Egypt abroad began to wane, whilst Phœnicia gradually rose to a position of first importance among the nations. We learn that Hiram, King of Tyre, during the time of Solomon, made an expedition against Citium because the colonists of Sidonian origin refused to pay their tribute. Phœnician influence spread rapidly in Cyprus; but about the fourth century before our era, the island was subjected to another tide of colonization which allied itself with and strengthened the native Cyprian element. Settlers arrived from Greece and founded Greek colonies, and these new colonists, unlike the Phœnicians, who maintained intimate intercourse with their mother country, seldom revisited theirs, and became in a short time fused with the Cypriots. The most important and probably the first Greek settlement was on the eastern shores of the island, where a city was founded and given the name of Salamis, the site of which had, however, been occupied by a town of far older origin. Its Greek foundation is commonly ascribed to Teucer after the fall of Troy, and the legend has long survived.

Before the Greek colonization, however, the Phœnician influence had been overshadowed by Assyrian, and Cyprus became tributary to that empire about the beginning of the seventh century B.C. A statue of Sargon, King of Assyria, cast in bas-relief and bearing an inscription in cuneiform characters, was erected at Citium, and is now to be seen in the Royal Museum at Berlin. Within a century, however, Assyria itself had fallen before the Babylonians; but in 588 B.C. a combined fleet of Tyre and Cyprus was defeated by Psammeticus III. of Egypt, and Cyprus passed for the second time under the yoke of Egypt. The triumph of the latter was short-lived, however, for Nebuchadnezzar, returning into Syria, re-took Cyprus from Egypt, and once more the island became a Phœnician dependency, until it was again invaded and conquered by Amasis, King of Egypt, who, we are told

by Herodotus, "took Cyprus, which no man had ever done before, and compelled it to pay him a tribute."\* At this time there were many Greek settlements in the island, and it is said that Amasis, in an endeavour to win the goodwill of its inhabitants, adorned the temple of Aphrodite with costly offerings. A short time before the Egyptian invasion, Cyprus had been visited at the invitation of Philocypros, one of the Cypriot princes, by Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, in honour of whom the town of Soli was founded, whose ruins, close to the modern town of Lefka, can be seen to this day. The dominion of Egypt in Cyprus continued until the reign of Cambyses, King of Persia, the son of Cyrus, about 525 B.C., who enlisted the assistance of Cyprus in his struggle against the Egyptians and added the island to the Persian Empire.

Thus Cyprus had, in the course of a thousand stormy years, seen empires wax and wane around her, and had herself been the prey of the conquerors. She had seen the temples of the conquering races set up one by one on her shores, and had been constrained to bow the knee to the Egyptian gods of Isis and Serapis, to the Phœnician Baal and the Assyrian Melkarth, as each race gained ascendancy. The Ionian colonists had erected their temples to Zeus and Apollo. Small wonder that the island became haunted by mythological shapes, and that the forms of all the gods and goddesses whose altars littered the shores as the centuries passed took root in the imagination of the people and coloured the history of the oft-invaded islanders. So far, however, Cyprus had borne a more or less passive part in the welter of nations struggling for supremacy in the lands that surrounded her, although she could hardly fail to imbibe something of the civilization which existed in such close proximity to her shores—in Persia, Phœnicia, Babylonia, and Syria to the east, Egypt to the south, Knossos and Mycenæ to the west, and Cilicia to the north. She was now destined to take a more active part in the great struggle which in the end witnessed

\* Herodotus, c. II., p. 182.

the defeat of the Persians by the Greeks, and their expulsion from the shores of the Mediterranean.

Herodotus gives a very full account of the revolt of the Ionians against Persia in 502 B.C., and describes graphically the part taken by Cyprus in this historic contest. The majority of the Cypriots sided with the Ionians, who sent a fleet which fought and won off Salamis a decisive naval battle against the Persians and their allies the Phœnicians ; but on land the Greek forces after a few initial successes were overcome, mainly owing to the treacherous desertion of some of their forces, and the Persians remained masters of the island, having been greatly assisted by the Phœnician towns, which were ready enough to take up arms against the Ionians.

The history of Cyprus during these centuries is one of continual conflict between the Greek colonists and the Phœnicians and their masters, the Persians ; at one time we find the island assisting Persia against the Greeks with a large fleet ; at another, Greek forces land in Cyprus and succeed for a time in wresting a portion of it from the Persians, only to lose it again.\* We have hitherto referred to the island as if it were one kingdom, but from the earliest times it had been divided into a number of petty, semi-independent principalities, owing a shadowy allegiance to the important kingdom of Salamis. There were, probably, in the population at this time two dominant elements—one Cyprian or native, with Greek proclivities, and the other Phœnician, essentially Asiatic ; each had its own peculiar alphabet and language, which alone figure on the coins of the island up to this period.

\* Professor Burnet in his recently published book, "Greek Philosophy from Thales to Plato," in describing Plato's connexion with the affairs of Syracuse during the reign of Dionysius II. (who succeeded to the throne in 367 B.C.), writes : "The great question of the day was once more how Hellenism could maintain itself against the pressure of Persia on the one side and Carthage on the other, and far-sighted statesmen saw clearly that the only hope lay in taking the offensive. . . . The Carthaginian question was only another aspect of the Persian question, and it is at least an instructive tradition that represents the battles of Salamis and Himera as having been fought on the same day." He adds in a foot-note : "It is interesting to note that the struggle between Hellenes and Semites had also been going on in Cyprus, the other great 'meeting-place of races.' Isocrates played a similar part there to that which Plato played in Sicily—in his own way, of course."

About the year 410 B.C., the throne of Salamis, which had been occupied for over a century by a Phœnician dynasty, was seized by one Evagoras, whose ancestors had ruled over Salamis before they were supplanted by the Phœnician dynasty, and who traced his descent from Teucer, son of Telamon, one of the Trojan heroes. Evagoras is one of the most famous characters in the history of Cyprus; he is described as having excelled all his contemporaries in the beauty of his person, the splendour of his martial gifts, and the ardour of his patriotism. Isocrates, the Athenian orator, relates of him that even as a boy he was distinguished amongst his companions for the strength and address which he displayed in games, and says that all these brilliant qualities were enhanced by a kindness of heart, owing to which those who were forced to own his superiority were the more readily won to his side; he seems, in fact, to have been a born ruler of men. His first care after establishing his rule was to restore the trade between Cyprus and Greece, his next to fortify Salamis, improve the harbours, and build ships. He cultivated an ardent friendship with Athens, and many young and eager Athenians flocked to his court. He remained, however, a faithful ally of the Persian king until after the defeat of the Spartan fleet off Cnidus in Caria by a combined Persian and Cypriot force, when he became involved in war with Persia. After reducing the Phœnician towns in Cyprus he sailed across to the Syrian coast, reduced Tyre, and excited Syria and Cilicia to open revolt. The Persian king, Artaxerxes, becoming alarmed for the safety of his empire, concentrated all his forces against Evagoras, who had obtained as his ally the King of Egypt, by whom a fleet of fifty vessels was sent to his assistance. A large Persian army landed in Cyprus, and Evagoras retaliated by harassing the Persian communications with his fleet. A naval battle took place off Citium, victory at first inclining to the side of Evagoras, who, however, was finally defeated and retired crestfallen to his fortification at Salamis, where he was soon besieged by the Persian forces,

Here he haughtily refused the terms offered by the Persian general, Tiribazus, which were that he should give up all claim to any portion of the island, pay an annual tribute to the King of Persia, and "demean himself towards the latter as a subject to his lord." Eventually, however, he was forced to conclude a peace by which, whilst paying an annual tribute to Persia, he obtained honourable terms privileging him "to communicate with the great king as one sovereign to another." Little less than a year later, Evagoras was seduced into a discreditable intrigue and murdered. Thus died one of the most illustrious men to whom Cyprus ever gave birth, a man whose love of culture, political sagacity, indomitable courage, and energy in misfortune give him an honourable place in history.

After this effort to throw off the Persian yoke, Cyprus remained a dependency of that empire until the victories of Alexander the Great finally put an end to Persian domination, and Cyprus became a part of Alexander's vast dominions.

On the death of Alexander, and the division of his dominions in 323 B.C., Cyprus fell to the share of Antigonus, one of his generals, but it was seized by Ptolemy of Egypt, and remained under the Ptolemies until the century preceding the Christian era. Its timber, its minerals, and its agricultural produce provided Egypt with those much-needed materials, and the island during these two centuries and a half enjoyed a period of comparative peace and prosperity under the Egyptian crown such as it had scarcely known before in all its chequered history. It is hardly to be expected, however, that it could succeed in remaining indefinitely outside the boundaries of Imperial Rome, and about sixty years before the Christian era it passed into Roman hands under circumstances by no means creditable to that great Power.

The island at that time was in the possession of Ptolemy, known to history as the Cyprian, a man of mean and avaricious character. A Roman tribune, Appius Claudius, fell into the hands of some pirates of Cilicia, and applied to Ptolemy

for funds to obtain his release. Ptolemy, not daring to refuse the demand altogether, but grudging to part with any of his treasure, sent only two talents as ransom. Claudius, indignant at the insult, obtained his release from his captors on giving his word that he would send the ransom they demanded, and hastened to Rome, vowing that he would be revenged on Ptolemy. He persuaded the Roman Senate to pass a decree of confiscation against Ptolemy, basing the claim on a pretended testament of Ptolemy Alexander II. of Egypt, and Cato the younger was ordered to carry out this unjust decree. Unable to resist the will of Rome, Ptolemy consented to cede the island on condition of his being appointed high priest of Paphos for life; but before the arrangement was carried into effect, unable to bear the disgrace, he poisoned himself, and Cato on arrival took peaceful possession of the island. He proceeded forthwith to convert into money the astonishing quantity of golden vessels, jewels and ornaments, rich furniture and purple robes, which he found in the palaces. To ensure its safe arrival at Rome, he packed it in little boxes, each of which contained two talents and five hundred drachmas and was fastened by a rope to a large piece of cork, the whole being valued at some seven thousand talents. To Cato's great credit, of the immense treasure in his power, he reserved for himself only a statue of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic School of Philosophy, who had been a native of Citium, the most celebrated man to whom Cyprus has given birth.

The island was made a prætorian province, but was shortly afterwards united with Cilicia to form one proconsular province, Lentulus being appointed in 55 B.C. as the first proconsul. The latter was shortly afterwards followed by Appius, who in turn was succeeded, in 52 B.C., by Cicero, whose letters give a vivid account of the state of affairs which he found in the island. "Appius," he writes, "who has administered the province by fire and sword, who has bled and exhausted it, who has consigned it to me expiring, finds it wrong that I

should repair the evil which he inflicted. . . . The province under his government has been ruined in every way ; under mine no exactions have been made under any pretext. What could I not say of the prefects of Appius—of his suite, of his lieutenants, of their spoliations, of their violences, of their brutalities ? ”

The Cypriots appear to have welcomed a change which elevated them to the status of Roman citizens. Shortly afterwards they had a brief and illusory semi-independence when their island was presented by Julius Cæsar to Cleopatra, who was confirmed in its sovereignty by Mark Antony, but the island reverted to Rome at her death and was divided into four districts by Augustus, who bestowed great care on it, and rebuilt the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos after it had been destroyed by an earthquake.

Christianity was introduced early into Cyprus, and its spread was rapid and considerable. St. Paul landed at Salamis, A.D. 45, in company with Barnabas, who was a native of that town, and, traversing the island on foot, converted to Christianity Sergius Paulus, the Roman proconsul at Paphos. Travellers to-day are shown a marble pillar half buried in the ground to which, the legend asserts, St. Paul was tied and flogged when he first began to preach the new gospel in Paphos. There is no mention of the incident in the New Testament, though it is by no means unlikely that St. Paul suffered in Cyprus one of the many scourgings which he enumerates. What is historically certain, however, is that Barnabas suffered martyrdom at Salamis, and a Byzantine church exists to this day close to the site of the ancient Salamis, beside which the saint's body is said to have been discovered. The discovery had important results, for it conferred upon the Church of Cyprus a dignity which has been jealously guarded and which survives to this day. When the remains of St. Barnabas were discovered towards the end of the fifth century, a copy of St. Matthew's gospel in St. Barnabas's own handwriting is said to have been found clasped

to his breast. At the time a fierce ecclesiastical controversy was raging round the Church of Cyprus, whose independence was disputed by the Patriarch of Antioch, who claimed that it formed part of the See of Antioch. The astute leaders of the Church of Cyprus were not slow to appreciate the value of the discovery made in the grave of Barnabas, and they hastened to Constantinople to lay before the emperor their case against Antioch, and, incidentally, related the discovery of the treasured document. Their astuteness was rewarded. The Emperor Zeno issued a rescript denouncing the claims of Antioch, confirming the Church of Cyprus in its absolute independence, and conferring upon its head peculiar honours which he still enjoys. Amongst these were the assumption by the Archbishop of Cyprus of purple silk robes, a gold-headed sceptre, the title of Beatitude, and the privilege, only customary with the emperors, of signing his name in red ink.

On the partition of the Roman Empire in A.D. 395, the connection of Cyprus with Rome ceased, and it was administered by a proconsul of the Byzantine Empire, appointed from Antioch. The capital was transferred from Paphos to Salamis, which had been re-named Constantia, and the island enjoyed a long period of prosperity till the rise of the Mahomedan power subjected it to a series of Arab invasions. In A.D. 647 Cyprus was invaded and occupied by Muawiyah, the first Ommazad Caliph, but the Arab conquerors only retained possession for two years, when it was regained by the Empire. In the following century, during the reign of Nicephorus I., war broke out between the eastern empire and the Caliph Haroun-el-Raschid, the renowned hero of *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. Cyprus was invaded and pillaged by Arab forces, its churches destroyed, thousands of its inhabitants massacred or sold as slaves, and the remnant subjected to the most oppressive taxation. The island groaned under her Mahomedan oppressors for nearly a century and a half, but was finally freed during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus II., called Phocas (963-969), and enjoyed com-

parative peace for nearly two centuries, until in 1184 one Isaac Comnenus, Governor of Tarsus, established himself under the high-sounding title of "Emperor of Cyprus," and for seven years ruled the island with great cruelty. It is a curious historical fact that Cyprus was rescued from the tyranny of this rapacious despot by an English king, Richard I., and came for the first, but not, as it turned out, the last, time under the crown of England. Richard was on his way to the Crusades, and accompanying his fleet were his affianced bride, Berengaria of Navarre, and his sister Joanna, widow of William the Good of Sicily. A storm drove into Cyprus waters the ships carrying the royal ladies, and they anchored off Limassol. Isaac Comnenus, not content with plundering some vessels of the fleet which had suffered shipwreck on his coasts, proceeded to offer insults to the ladies occupying the vessels lying in the Limassol anchorage, until the timely arrival of Richard with the remainder of the fleet put a dramatic end to the insolence of the tyrant. Richard landed with a strong force, and captured Limassol. Six days afterwards, in the chapel of the little Gothic fortress which exists to this day, his nuptials with Berengaria were celebrated, his bride being at the same time crowned Queen of the English. Isaac had fled to Nicosia, and thence to Famagusta, but he was pursued by Richard, who had been joined by Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, and the fortresses in the island were rapidly reduced, the luckless Isaac eventually surrendering to Richard. By him he was handed over to the Hospitallers, and died in captivity three years later in Syria. Having completed the conquest of the island, Richard left two English officials to govern it on the English model, and, just a month after his first landing at Limassol, hove anchor and sailed for Acre. Cyprus was not on this occasion, however, destined to remain for long under English rule. Richard required all his resources and all the money he could raise for his campaign against Saladin, and he found the Knights Templar ready to purchase from him his new conquest. The chaffering which ensued,

interesting as an illustration of the manner in which countries and their inhabitants were in those days bartered by petty princelings amongst each other, ended in the sale of the island by Richard for 100,000 besants d'or, equivalent in our day to about £320,000 sterling. Before long, however, the Templars, finding it beyond their power to keep in order the somewhat turbulent population, requested Richard to cancel the bargain, and the latter eventually handed it over to Guy de Lusignan as compensation for the loss by him of his kingdom of Jerusalem.

For close on three hundred years the island was subjected to the Lusignan dynasty, and these were probably the most brilliant in the history of Cyprus. The period has been thus described in terms which contain in all likelihood little exaggeration :

“ In every aspect of mediæval civilization the little kingdom played a distinguished part. Its remarkable achievements in every domain of human activity invested it with an importance among the nations of Europe wholly out of proportion to its small size and population. Its constitution was the model of that of the mediæval feudal state ; its laws, as embodied in the *Assize of Jerusalem*, a pattern of mediæval jurisprudence. It can boast, in the abbey of Bella Paise, in the cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta, and in the castles of St. Hilarion, Buffavento, and Kantara, of really beautiful examples of mediæval architecture ; its men of letters, Philippe de Novare, Guillaume de Machaut, Philippe de Mézieres, occupy no undistinguished place in the realm of literature. In King Peter I. it possessed perhaps the greatest knight-errant the world has ever seen ; in his Order of the Sword the most perfect expression of chivalrous ideals. To Kings of Cyprus such widely different writers as St. Thomas Aquinas and Boccaccio dedicated works ; the wealth and luxury of its citizens, especially in the fourteenth century, evoked the amazement of all Western visitors. The rich merchants of Famagusta were wont, we are told, to give their

daughters, on their marriage, jewels more precious *que toutes les parures de la reine de France*. Admittedly there was a less attractive side to this efflorescence of French civilization on the rich Levantine soil: '*fastus gallicus, syra mollities, græcæ blanditiæ ac fraudes quæ unam videlicet in insulam convenere,*' is the epigram by which a contemporary describes the character of the inhabitants of Cyprus in those days."\*

The constant ambition of the Lusignans was to recover their ancient heritage of Jerusalem, and countless attempts were made to this end. The Lusignan sovereigns indeed were accustomed to have themselves crowned King of Jerusalem as well as King of Cyprus, although the hold of the Saracens on the sacred city was never shaken. In A.D. 1376, Famagusta was wrested from the Lusignan King Pierre II. by the Genoese, who ravaged the island, and continued to hold it until finally driven out nearly a century later by Jacques II., illegitimate son of a former king. But it was the marriage of the latter with a Venetian lady which brought about the end of the Lusignan dynasty in Cyprus. On his death, followed within a few months by the death of his infant son, the widow assumed the throne. But her sovereignty was nominal, the real power being in the hands of two Venetian counsellors and a *providetor* appointed by the Republic, and in 1488 the island was occupied by the Venetians as a *place d'armes*, which was to serve them in their struggle against the Turks.

For eighty-two years Cyprus was in the hands of the Venetians. But they used it merely as a naval and military station, and made little or no attempt at civil administration. They exhibited little but an insatiable lust for commercial gain, and an overbearing, unsympathetic spirit towards the native population. Traces of their occupation are to be seen in the massive walls of the fortresses of Famagusta and Kyrenia, which remain to this day much as they were when in the occupation of the Venetians, by whom they were re-constructed

\* "The Handbook of Cyprus," by H. C. Lukach and D. J. Jardine.

from former works. Notwithstanding, however, the elaborate fortifications which the Venetians had, with the skill for which they were famous, constructed on the island, Cyprus was not destined to resist for long the Turkish war of conquest which was spreading over eastern Europe. In 1570 the Turks captured Nicosia after a siege lasting forty days, and the town was delivered up to the fury and lust of the troops. "Young babes," says a chronicler, "were violently taken out of the arms of their mothers, virgins were shamefully ravished, and honest matrons in sight of their husbands spitefully abused. Churches were spoiled; the streets were in all places filled with blood, for in the city on that day were slain 14,800 persons." In the following year, after a heroic defence of four months, Famagusta capitulated, its brave defender, Bragadino, being mutilated and eventually flayed alive in circumstances of brutal barbarity by his ferocious captors. His skin, stuffed with straw and suspended to the yardarm of a galley, was sent to Constantinople, being eventually bought by his sons and carried to Venice, where his remains now rest.

The fall of Famagusta decided the fate of Cyprus, and the whole island passed to the Turks. Two half-hearted attempts to recapture the island ended in failure and Cyprus remained an integral part of the Turkish Empire until recent times. In spite of the cruelties which marked the capture of Famagusta, the Turks proved themselves better masters than the Venetians, whose military rule had been harsh and exacting. In some respects, indeed, the Turkish pashas proved themselves more liberal-minded than their predecessors; the peasantry were released from serfdom, the Orthodox Archbishopric was restored, and the Christian population were allowed a large measure of autonomy. The former prosperity of the island, however, which had begun to decline under Venetian rule, was hardly likely to revive under Turkish administration, and Cyprus gradually sank into a state of barren stagnation, which was destined to last for more than three hundred years. There are few records of the history

of this period. Taxation was heavy, administration light. The peasant was obliged to work ceaselessly, if not particularly industriously, to gain the wherewithal to pay his taxes and to feed himself and his family ; there was no incentive to thrift, industry, originality of character, energy, or, in short, any of those qualities which go to make a virile race. A great part of the land was owned by wealthy Turks, and in course of time some of this was bequeathed to various religious charities *in perpetuo*, estates thus bequeathed coming under the Mahomedan religious laws and being administered either by a semi-government department known as the *Evkaf*, or by a *mutevelli* or agent specially appointed for this purpose. A distinguished Italian, the Abbé Mariti, who spent the years from 1760 to 1767 in Cyprus as an official of the Imperial and Tuscan Consulates, and credits the island with "surpassing every other Greek island in the number of natives illustrious for their birth, dignity, learning, and saintliness," quoting Strabo's statement in his geography, *κατ' ἀρετὴν οὐδεμίας τῶν νήσων λείπεται* ("it yields to no other island in excellence"), gives an enlightening account of the exactions practised under Turkish rule. "When the Governor wishes to impose some tax on the Greek *ri'aya*, or subjects," he writes, "he does not address himself to the people directly, but to the interpreter, then to the Archbishop, who sends notice to the several dioceses to make the most convenient arrangements to avoid annoyances or to lessen the demand. The poor subjects might very often be saved from oppression if their Archbishop were not from policy, and sometimes from personal interest, ready to lend himself to the exactions of the *Muhassil*, so that they are often abandoned by the very person who ought to take their part. When the governor wishes to collect money out of season, or of his mere caprice, the mode of imposing duties and taxes is curious enough. He may even tax with a certain sum anyone who bears a name which he may select : as, for instance, anyone called George has, without appeal, to pay a certain sum. Such an exaction falls on members of the Greek community

only, who are treated more as slaves than subjects.”\* This passage incidentally throws a light on the manner in which the Turkish rulers of the island made use of the Greek ecclesiastical authorities in the collection of the taxes imposed by them on the Christian inhabitants, and explains why the Archbishop and Metropolitans of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus received special consideration from their Turkish masters.

The history of Cyprus under Turkish rule can only be regarded, broadly speaking, as a sad record of oppression and misgovernment. The island was for more than two centuries a mere estate of the Capitan Pasha, who was solely concerned in obtaining the largest possible profit out of it. When the complaints of the inhabitants finally reached Constantinople the administration was taken out of the hands of the Capitan Pasha, and transformed to *Mutezelims*, who leased its revenues to the Porte for the fixed sum of £25,000 per annum. A terrible event occurred in 1825, when the Christian inhabitants were suspected of complicity in the revolution of Greece. The clergy and notables were summoned to a council at Nicosia, and when they were assembled the gates were closed, and all invited, with few exceptions, were treacherously murdered. A reign of terror was thus established which lasted until the close of the Turkish administration.

Reforms were introduced into the island in 1838 during the reign of the liberal Sultan Mahmoud II., and the revenues were no longer leased to the *Mutezelims*. A governor was appointed with a fixed salary, who was charged with the administration and the encashment of fixed taxes for account of the Treasury. Later, Cyprus was placed under the Vali for the Greek Archipelago, whose residence was at the Dardanelles. In 1870 the final change under Turkish administration took place, the island being removed from the Vilayet of the Archipelago and placed under a *Mutasarrif*, responsible directly to Constantinople. Such was the situation when England intervened for the second time in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

\* “Travels in the Island of Cyprus” translated from the Italian of Giovanni Mariti, by C. D. Cobham.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CYPRUS CONVENTION.

**I**N 1878, whilst the Berlin Conference was still sitting, Europe was startled by the announcement that an agreement had been concluded between the British Government and the Porte, whereby the administration of the island of Cyprus was to be handed over to the former Power in return for certain guarantees given by the Ottoman Government.

The text of the agreement, which subsequently became known as the "Cyprus Convention," was as follows :

#### CONVENTION OF DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND TURKEY, SIGNED JUNE 4, 1878.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, being mutually animated with the sincere desire of extending and strengthening the relations of friendship happily existing between their two Empires, have resolved upon the conclusion of a Convention of defensive alliance with the object of securing for the future the territories in Asia of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

Their Majesties have accordingly chosen and named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, the Right Honourable Austen Henry Layard, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte ;

And His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, His Excellency

Safvet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Imperial Majesty ;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in due and good form, have agreed upon the following Articles :

#### ARTICLE I.

If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, or any of them shall be retained by Russia and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.

In return, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two Powers, into the government, and for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories ; and in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England.

#### ARTICLE II.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged, within the space of one month, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Constantinople, the fourth day of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight.

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| (L.S.) | A. H. LAYARD. |
| (L.S.) | SAFVET.       |

To this Convention was appended an Annex in the following terms :

THE Right Honourable Sir A. H. Layard, G.C.B., and his Highness Safvet Pasha, now the Grand Vizier of His Majesty the Sultan, have agreed to the following Annex to the Convention signed by them as Plenipotentiaries of their respective Governments on the 4th June, 1878 :

It is understood between the two High Contracting Parties that England agrees to the following conditions relating to her occupation and administration of the Island of Cyprus :

I. That a Mussulman religious Tribunal (Mehkéméi Shéri) shall continue to exist in the Island, which will take exclusive cognizance of religious matters, and of no others, concerning the Mussulman population of the Island.

II. That a Mussulman resident in the Island shall be named by the Board of Pious Foundations in Turkey (Evkaf) to superintend, in conjunction with a delegate to be appointed by the British Authorities, the administration of the property, funds, and lands belonging to mosques, cemeteries, Mussulman schools, and other religious establishments existing in Cyprus.

III. That England will pay to the Porte whatever is the present excess of the revenue over the expenditure in the Island ; this excess to be calculated upon and determined by the average of the last five years, stated to be 22,936 purses\* to be duly verified hereafter, and to the exclusion of the produce of State and Crown lands let or sold during that period.

IV. That the Sublime Porte may freely sell and lease lands and other property in Cyprus belonging to the Ottoman Crown and State (Arazii Miriyé vé Emlaki Houmayoun) the produce of which does not form part of the revenue of the Island referred to in Article III.

V. That the English Government, through their competent authorities, may purchase compulsorily, at a fair price, land

\* One purse is equivalent to 500 piastres, metallic, and 105 piastres, metallic to one pound (Turkish).

required for public improvements, or for other public purposes, and land which is not cultivated.

VII. That if Russia restores to Turkey Kars and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the last war, the Island of Cyprus will be evacuated by England, and the Convention of the 4th of June, 1878, will be at an end.

Done at Constantinople, the 1st day of July, 1878.

(Signed)      A. H. LAYARD.  
SAFVET.

The following Supplementary and further Agreements were signed on the 14th August, 1878, and the 3rd February, 1879, respectively :

THE Right Honourable Sir A. Henry Layard, G.C.B., and his Highness Safvet Pasha, Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having met together this day, have, in virtue of their full powers, signed the following additional Article to the Convention of the 4th June, 1878, signed by them as Plenipotentiaries of their respective Governments.

It is understood between the High Contracting Parties, without prejudice to the express provisions of the Articles I., II., and IV. of the Annex of the 1st July, 1878, that His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, in assigning the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England, has thereby transferred to and vested in Her Majesty the Queen, for the term of the occupation and no longer, full powers for making Laws and Conventions for the government of the Island in Her Majesty's name, and for the regulation of its commercial and Consular relations and affairs free from the Porte's control.

Done at Constantinople, the 14th day of August, 1878.

(L.S.)      A. H. LAYARD.  
(L.S.)      SAFVET.

*Agreement Signed at Constantinople, February 3rd, 1879.*

IT having been agreed between Her Britannic Majesty's Government and that of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan that all the rights reserved to the Ottoman Crown and Government under Article IV. of the Annex to the Convention signed at Constantinople on the 4th June, 1878, shall be commuted by a fixed annual money payment, the Undersigned, the Right Honourable Austen Henry Layard, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Sublime Porte, and His Excellency Alexandre Carathéodory Pasha, His Imperial Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, being duly authorized so to do, hereby declare that :

All property, revenues, and rights reserved to the Ottoman Crown and Government in the said Article IV. of the Annex to the Convention of the 4th June, including all revenue derived from tapous, mahloul, and intikal are commuted hereby for a fixed annual payment of £5,000 to be made by Her Britannic Majesty's Government to that of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan every year during the British occupation of Cyprus, to be calculated from the beginning of the next financial year.

Done at Constantinople, the third day of February, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

(Signed)      A. H. LAYARD.  
AL. CARATHÉODORY.  
1879.

On the 2nd of July, 1878, Admiral Lord John Hay arrived off Larnaca with a squadron of British ships, and a few days later, on the 12th July, the administration of the island was handed over to him at Nicosia by the Turkish Governor in the presence of a guard of honour of bluejackets and marines from the fleet, the Turkish flag being formally hauled down, and the Union Jack hoisted in its place.

On July 22nd, Sir Garnet Wolseley, K.C.B., landed at

Larnaca with a force of British and Indian troops, bearing a Commission appointing him Her Majesty's Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Cyprus. His appointment was notified in the following Proclamation which was issued and made public on the day of his arrival :

PROCLAMATION by His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, Knight Grand Cross of the most distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the most honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Island of Cyprus.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, having agreed with His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey by a Convention duly signed and ratified at Constantinople that the Island of Cyprus shall be occupied and administered by and on behalf of Her Majesty, and Her Majesty the Queen having been graciously pleased to appoint me, Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, to be Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Island of Cyprus, and to administer the Government of the Island in Her Majesty's name.

Now, therefore, I hereby proclaim and make known to all the inhabitants of Cyprus that I have this day assumed the administration of the Government of the Island on behalf of Her Majesty. Her Majesty directs me to assure the inhabitants of Cyprus of the warm interest which the Queen feels in their prosperity and of Her Gracious intention to order the adoption of such measures as may appear best calculated to promote and extend the commerce and agriculture of the country, and to afford to the people the blessings of freedom, justice, and security.

It is Her Majesty's gracious pleasure that the Government of Cyprus shall be administered without favour to any race or creed ; that equal justice shall be done to all, that all

shall enjoy alike the equal and impartial protection of the law ; and that no measures shall be neglected which may tend to advance the moral and material welfare of the people.

And it is the express desire of the Queen that in the administration of public affairs regard shall be paid to the reasonable wishes of the inhabitants with respect to the maintenance of their ancient institutions, usages, and customs provided that they be consistent with just and good Government, and with those principles of civilization and liberty which must always and everywhere be upheld by those who govern in Her Majesty's name.

*Larnaca, July 22, 1878.*

By Command,

G. R. GREAVES, Colonel,  
Chief of Staff.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

The instructions of the Sultan of Turkey to his officers were expressed in a *Firman* of which the following is a translation :

“ To my aiding Vizir Sadik Pasha, Vali of the Vilayet of the Archipelago, a holder and bearer of the first class of the Orders of the Mejdieh and Osmanieh, one of the very illustrious Cabinet Ministers of my exalted Government, an honoured and great Minister of State, an illustrious and venerated Mushir, a basis of the order of the world, a manager of the affairs of the nation with penetrating thought, a finisher of important concerns of mankind with sound forecast, a consolidator of the structure of the State and of prosperity, and a strengthener of the pillars of happiness and grandeur, and possessor of a right in the various favours of God Most High,—may God, Whose Name be exalted, eternise his grandeur !

“ To Ahmed Pasha, one of my honoured Mir-i-Miran,

Mutasarrif of the Island of Cyprus, a holder and bearer of the third class of the said Most Distinguished Order of the Mejidieh, the pride of respected commanders, relied upon by illustrious persons, adorned with dignity and honour, possessor of power and magnificence, specially adopted by the bountiful favour of God the Sovereign Lord—may his prosperity endure !

“ To the Naib and Mufti of Cyprus, models of learned Judges—may their learning increase ! and

“ To the Members of the Council and Notables of the people, the pride of the illustrious and honoured—may their honour be augmented !

“ Be it known, on the arrival of my High Imperial Cypher, that the delivery, in a temporary manner, to Her of the Island of Cyprus having been desired and requested by the illustrious British Government in consequence of reasons known, and on a discussion of the matter in my Privy Council of illustrious Ministers ; considering that the said Government has up to now, according to the requirement of the friendship and sincerity which have of old existed between my exalted Government and Her, given by actual deeds very many proofs of Her benevolent designs and intentions towards my Government, and that, consequently, it would be congruous with the exigencies of the circumstances and of the case that the said Government should possess the said Island temporarily, it has been deemed expedient that the temporary administration of the said Island be handed over to the said Government with the condition (in accordance with the Convention that has been framed, sealed, and signed in that behalf) that there shall be a Sheri Court in the Island as heretofore, which will continue to conduct the Sheri affairs of the Moslem community of the Island : that an official shall be appointed by the Imperial Evkaf Ministry also from amongst the Moslem community, in order to administer, in conjunction with an official to be appointed by the said Government, the sacred mosques, and the properties, real estates and lands belonging to the Moslem cemeteries, schools and other religious institutions

found in the Island. That the surplus remaining after deduction of local expenses from the total of my Imperial dues now paid to my exalted Government by the said Island shall be annually paid to my Government. That the miri and vakf lands found in the said Island shall be freely sold or farmed out, and the moneys accruing from them shall be included in the said Imperial dues. And that the said Government shall be empowered to purchase at suitable prices, and through the officer in charge, the necessary unsown lands for public works, and for other purposes of general utility. And this decision having been referred to and submitted for my noble Majesty's sanction, and my High Imperial Irade having been appended and issued for the carrying out of the same accordingly, you, the above-mentioned Vali, Mutasarrif, Naib, Mufti, and others, are hereby ordered to proceed to the handing over to the officers of the said Government of the temporary administration of the said Island, and to be careful to see that no act or deed is done contrary to my Imperial approbation.

“Written on this thirtieth day of the month Jemadhi-ul-akhir, in the year one thousand two hundred and ninety-five” (July 1, 1878).

The population of the island at this time was about 186,000, of which some two-thirds were Greek-speaking and the remainder Turkish, with a sprinkling of Syrians, Armenians, and other nationalities.

The substitution of a British for an Ottoman administration was warmly welcomed by the Christian inhabitants, a deputation from whom, headed by the venerable Archbishop of the Autocephalous Church of Cyprus, waited upon Sir Garnet Wolseley on his arrival and presented him with an address. The Turkish community accepted the change with Oriental resignation, if not with enthusiasm, secure in the knowledge that they were retaining their rights and privileges as Ottoman subjects, and that Cyprus remained an integral part of the Ottoman Empire.

It is unnecessary to discuss the reasons which led to the adoption by the British Government of the policy embodied in the Cyprus Convention. They are summarized in a despatch written by Lord Salisbury on May 30, 1878, to the British Ambassador at Constantinople, which was printed in a Parliamentary Paper the same year, and is reproduced in an appendix to this book.\* Anxiety to secure, in the event of war, the safety of the communications of the Empire through the Suez Canal—a vital link with our Indian Empire—was doubtless one of the main reasons actuating the Government, which saw in the geographical position of Cyprus a suitable base for naval and military operations in the eastern Mediterranean. Had the statesmen of the day been able to foresee the situation that was to arise shortly afterwards in Egypt which resulted in the occupation of that country by a permanent British garrison, it is hardly probable that the project of occupying Cyprus would ever have been mooted. By the garrisoning of Egypt with British forces the safety of the Canal was far more effectively secured, and Cyprus, at the same time, lost most of its value as a strategical point of vantage. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that, had England cynically consulted her own interests alone, she would have been wise when Egypt was occupied in 1881 to have cancelled the Convention and handed back Cyprus to Turkey. But apart from the loss of prestige which such a policy would have entailed, and the difficulties involved in the uprooting of an administration just planted in a country, there was undoubtedly a strong feeling against handing back to Turkey an island containing a population more than three-fourths of which belonged to the Christian faith. Cyprus was, therefore, destined to remain in British hands, though retaining, in name at least, its status as an integral portion of the Ottoman Empire. It may be doubted, however, whether the continued occupation of Cyprus after the establishment of a British garrison in Egypt was altogether to the advantage of Great

\* Appendix I. Parliamentary Paper, Turkey, No. 36, C. 2037.

Britain. Its value to the empire was open to question, whilst it involved an annual expenditure from imperial funds which, though inconsiderable, was nevertheless permanent. On the other hand, there can be no question but that the transference of the administration of the island from Turkish to English hands was of material benefit to the inhabitants, who exchanged an admittedly indifferent government for an unquestionably efficient one, and at the same time gained the protection and security afforded by the British arms.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE TRIBUTE

WHILST it is unnecessary to discuss the wisdom or unwisdom of the Cyprus Convention from the imperial point of view, some consideration of its effects on the inhabitants of the island is a natural preliminary to any account of British rule in the island. It is important at the outset to realize that the action of the British Government in assuming the administration of Cyprus did not result in any way from a regard either for the island or its inhabitants. There was no question, for instance, of rescuing the latter from misrule; on the contrary, we have the testimony of an Englishman who spent many years in the island before the British occupation, and acted on several occasions as British Consul, that "of all the Turkish provinces perhaps Cyprus was the best administered."\* The occupation was the outcome solely of the desire of the Government of the day to safeguard British interests in the Near and Far East, interests which it was believed would be best furthered by buttressing the Turkish Empire against Russian aggression. It was not till many years later that the admission was made by Lord Salisbury that England, in its Eastern policy, had "backed the wrong horse."

This being so, the question arises whether the British Government was justified in laying upon the Cyprus revenues, as it did, the burden of the payment which was to be made annually to the Porte under the Convention, and which became known as the "Cyprus Tribute."

\* "Cyprus: Its History, Present Resources, and Future Prospects," by R. Hamilton Lang. Published 1878.

It will be remembered that by the Annex to the Convention England covenanted to "pay to the Porte whatever is the present excess of revenue over expenditure in the island; this excess to be calculated upon and determined by the average of the last five years." The determination of this sum involved considerable correspondence between the local Government, the Foreign Office, and the Porte; but it was eventually fixed at £92,686, to which was subsequently added a sum of £113 11s. 3d., on the assumption by the Cyprus Government of the control of the lighthouses in the island, making a total of £92,799 11s. 3d., which was the sum finally determined upon as payable annually to the Porte in respect of the Cyprus Convention. It is somewhat surprising that the Imperial Government should have decided that this sum should be a charge on the revenues of the island, and it is pertinent to enquire what funds were at the time available to meet this charge.

As will be described later on, the first estimate of revenue and expenditure made by the local Government after the occupation showed a revenue for the years 1878-1879 of £172,000, and an expenditure of only £52,800, leaving a surplus more than sufficient to pay the sum due to the Porte under the Convention. But the estimate of expenditure provided for nothing except the mere machinery of administration, and it is difficult to believe that the British Government could have seriously imagined that an efficient and liberal administration of the island could be carried on if more than fifty per cent. of the revenue was to be taken every year out of the island in perpetuity and paid away as "tribute." In any case, it was soon found that the revenue had been over-estimated and the expenditure grossly under-estimated, and it became necessary for Parliament to vote each year sums as grants-in-aid to meet the inevitable deficit which occurred when the "tribute" had been paid. The sums thus paid by the British Government varied each year according to the revenue, the average amounting for the first thirty years

to about £30,000 per annum. But not a penny of this so-called "tribute" has been paid to the Ottoman Government, and, in point of fact, it never reaches Constantinople at all. It is utilized to pay the shareholders of the Ottoman Loan of 1855, which is guaranteed by England and France, and amounts to £3,815,200. The interest on this loan is £81,752, and the surplus from the Cyprus Tribute which remains every year after the debt charge has been satisfied is invested in Consols, and forms a separate fund, from which sums have actually been deducted in the past to pay the ransom of British subjects captured by brigands in Ottoman territory. The last return laid before the House of Commons relating to this fund is dated August 13, 1912, and shows that the Consols purchased with the surpluses from the moneys arising from the Revenue of Cyprus amounted on March 31, 1912, to £430,178 11s. 7d., and there is a note to the effect that "the aggregate surplus would have been *pro tanto* increased had not the amount of £24,803 4s. 4d. been paid out of the 'tribute' in the years 1882 to 1886 for the ransoms of Captain Sygne and Mr. Suter."\*

In these circumstances it can hardly be a matter of surprise that the payment of this "tribute" from Cyprus revenue has been a subject of burning dissatisfaction amongst Cypriot people ever since the British occupation. The drain imposed on the revenue by this enormous annual payment has paralysed progress, and left barely sufficient funds to keep the administrative machinery in working order, whilst allowing little for such vital purposes as education, road construction, agriculture, and re-afforestation. The question has been more than once brought up in debate in the House of Commons, and has formed the subject of innumerable memoranda from the Cyprus people to the British Government. The latter has justified its action by maintaining that the money is due to Cyprus under the Convention, and was, in fact, paid

\* Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated August 7, 1912.—Parliamentary Paper, H. of C. 318.

to Turkey under the Turkish administration ; that the Cypriot enjoys under the British Government an incomparably better administration than he experienced under the Ottoman Government ; and that he receives in addition the benefit of a generous grant-in-aid from Parliament. All this may be conceded, but it must be remembered that under Turkish Government the island was taxed up to the limit that it could bear, and that the cost of administration was kept at an insignificant figure by the farming of taxes and the payment of officials by well-known Oriental methods which did not figure in the accounts of expenditure, whilst there was an almost entire absence of expenditure on roads, harbours, agriculture, education, forestry, etc. The main business of the Turkish administration was to extract as much revenue as possible from the island ; hence, to calculate the annual surplus which was thus obtained, and to fix such a sum as a permanent burden on Cyprus revenues, is a proceeding which it seems difficult to justify, even taking into consideration the small annual grant-in-aid voted by Parliament.

The view taken by the Greek section of the population is forcibly expressed in a Memorial addressed in 1903 to Mr. Chamberlain, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, criticizing a speech made by him in the House of Commons on May 26, 1902. After complaining that the Greek inhabitants of Cyprus had been wronged by statements then made, the memorialists set forth their views regarding the question of the "tribute" in the following terms :

" . . . . The Greek inhabitants of the island especially complain of being wronged by your statement, and strongly protest against the following three points : (1) The question of the 'tribute,' (2) that of the antiquities, and (3) that of their National aspirations.

" As regards the first, you have urged that the sum of £92,000 constitutes an obligation adherent to Cyprus as a 'tribute,' which had to be paid were Cyprus occupied either by England or any other Power, and that Cypriots have no cause

of complaint against it nor did it interest us what became of that sum of money. It is certainly not the first time nor is it by you alone that this terrible burden, which has been unwillingly imposed upon us by the English Government, has been thus characterized, but we think that we are not, therefore, precluded of the right of considering such a burden as unjustly imposed upon us, and of protesting against it as we have already done on several occasions ; and to ask that we may be relieved of this heavy injustice, provided that the grounds on which we base our claims are just, which will be proved if you will kindly allow us to examine shortly this question from the beginning, and to point out how this sum of £92,000 arose, what does it represent, and whom does it really affect.

“When in 1878 Great Britain was negotiating with the Sublime Porte for the cession of Cyprus, it promised, as it appears from the document of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Sir H. Layard, dated the 30th May, 1878, ‘that the excess of the revenue over the expenditure, whatever it may be, shall be paid over annually by the British Government to the Treasury of the Sultan,’ and in fact in the Convention of 1878, paragraph 3, it is defined ‘that England will pay to the Porte the surplus,’ etc. Negotiations were subsequently carried out for determining the ‘surplus,’ which was finally fixed at about £87,000, and to this sum, the light and salt dues having been added, the whole amount to be paid rose to about £92,000, the very sum which you have styled as the ‘tribute’—which ought to, as it really does, represent but the surplus which the Porte received from the Administration of the Island, and which sum England has taken upon herself to pay to the Porte in order that the administration and occupation of Cyprus be ceded to it.

“We, therefore, maintain that the Convention is very clear on this subject, viz. : that the payment of the surplus which was fixed at £92,000 is an obligation of England alone and not of Cyprus towards the Porte, as otherwise it would have been certainly written down in the Convention ; that England

undertook the obligation to levy from Cyprus the surplus with a view to pay it over to the Porte ; nor can it be possibly supposed that in so serious a document—drawn up by the best authorities—an obscure construction should have crept in the formulation of the real meaning of the high contracting parties or that such an essential omission should have escaped notice. And as in the very terms of the Convention no direct obligation rests upon Cyprus for the payment of £92,000, it may be asked if Cyprus is not indirectly responsible for the said sum towards the English Government on account of the direct obligations of Cyprus towards England. This is a question to be examined.

“ By virtue of the Convention the administration of Cyprus is given up to the English Government under restrictive conditions in its duration ; and, the island continuing to be considered as a part of the Turkish Empire, the English Government, consequently, is merely an *ad interim* administrator and the island continues to bear the same obligations for payment of taxes towards the new administration as it did towards the former Suzerain. The Sultan collected the revenues of the island, from which he defrayed the necessary expenses for the administration, placing any surplus into his treasury ; we acknowledge bearing the same responsibility towards the present Government, which is entitled to levy the same sum which the Sultan collected.

“ The cost of the administration must be necessarily taken out of this sum, as it used to be done under the Sultan ; and if, after this deduction, there is a surplus, the English Government may undoubtedly dispose of it as it pleases, and one may justly say that it must not concern the Cypriots what England does with such a surplus as they were not entitled to ask the Sultan what he did with it.

“ The annual sum of the verified revenues of the island during the Turkish administration on the basis of a period of five years, was proved not to exceed the sum of £130,000 (*vide* document of the High Commissioner, dated 7th June, 1880).

And, although this amount has been objected to by the Cypriots as being very exaggerated, they having proved that the annual revenues did not exceed the sum of £117,000, we nevertheless take the sum of £130,000 as a basis, it being the undisputedly highest sum ever levied by Turkey.

“We acknowledge, therefore, that we are bound to pay annually this sum of £130,000 to the new Administrator, *i.e.*, to the English Government, which is responsible, in its turn, to pay out of this sum the cost of the administration; but we maintain, in the meantime, that the English Government is not entitled to recover anything beyond this sum; and that, should the revenues of the island exceed the sum of £130,000, anything over and above that sum belongs to the island. This argument should not be considered as a mere theory of law as it happily is supported by facts.

“In the course of the negotiations between England and Turkey for fixing the surplus, the Porte demanded that the growing surplus which might accrue in the course of time out of the island revenues be paid to Turkey by England; but England replied that ‘as England will probably spend the growing surplus in the improvement of the island, Her Majesty’s Government cannot assent,’ etc. (*vide* telegram of Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Sir H. Layard, dated 30th May, 1878).

“In the face of the aforesaid objection and of the assurance that this money would be spent for the benefit of the island the Porte waived its demand and accepted that the surplus be liquidated—which was done—on the computation of the revenues of the last five years of Turkish administration. Does this undertaking by England not constitute an obligation that any sum over and above £130,000, or, more accurately speaking, over £117,000, which accrue out of the revenues, be spent in the improvement of the island? And is it not clearly proved that Cyprus does not bear any responsibility for the sum of £92,000, that she is not bound to pay to the English Government more than £130,000, which Government

might take for its own interest any surplus that would accrue out of the said sum after the cost of administration, and has the English Government not undertaken to spend any growing surplus over and above the sum of £130,000 on the improvement of the island ?

“ Let us see, however, Honourable Sir, if these principles are kept really, and whether you are entitled to say that it must not concern us what England does with the money which is taken from our revenues.

“ We have said that the total sum of the revenues realized during the Turkish administration amounted to £130,000. The cost of the present administration exceeds the sum of £140,000, that is to say, that in addition to the sum of £130,000 which we are bound to pay, an additional sum of £10,000 is absorbed out of our growing surplus, which surplus accrued, it must be noted, mainly out of the increased taxation as well as out of new taxes unlawfully levied, and secondarily out of the naturally increasing revenue of the island in proportion with the increase of the population. But as the said sum of £10,000 taken from the growing surplus is in some way or other spent in the island, it may be urged that none of the aforesaid principles is thereby impugned.

“ Unfortunately, however, things do not stop as far as this. The revenues of the island have since the British occupation sensibly increased for the aforesaid reasons, and the surplus sum over and above the £130,000, instead of being devoted to the improvement of the island according to the express promise and obligation of England, is arbitrarily utilized towards the fulfilment of an individual obligation of England towards the Porte, viz. : the payment of the £92,000.

“ Does not this act constitute an overt violation of the obligations of England, and is this not a misappropriation of moneys belonging exclusively to Cyprus, which is paying them ? You still maintain, Right Honourable Sir, that we have no right to ask what has become of the money ; we urge, however, that we are entitled to claim, in exercise of our rights, that it

may not be taken away from us, inasmuch as this is a downright injustice committed against us.

“ It may be put forward, in reply, that all these arguments are sound and good, but, inasmuch as England cannot administer the island with the excessive economies of the Porte and with the omission of the most elementary obligations incumbent upon every civilized country, in carrying out works of public utility, etc., and, consequently, that since the cost of administration has absorbed the very surplus which accrued during the Turkish administration, the English Government is compelled, under such circumstances, to receive any surplus which may accrue from any source, even if it may be the very sum which England has undertaken to spend in the improvement of the island.

“ We submit, however, that when the negotiations between the two Governments were going on, even after the occupation, as to fixing the surplus sum, England having under her eyes the true state of things was in a position to understand that she could not administer the island at a cost of £30,000 to £40,000 per annum, and it was then the duty of England to point out to the Porte that the English administration would necessarily be more expensive and to claim a proportionate reduction of the surplus. Or, if England, owing to private reasons, and to higher political aims affecting her alone, wanted to occupy Cyprus at all costs, the question of money being of minor importance to her, it was and it is reasonable and just that the sacrifice should be borne by England, which has politically benefited by the occupation of Cyprus, and not by the poor Cypriot, who has played the rôle of a dumb person on this occasion. And that such was the opinion of the English Government at the time is apparent by the words of the Convention, ‘ England shall pay the surplus to the Porte.’

“ Unfortunately those right thoughts did not prevail in practice, contrary to the express condition of the Convention and to the promises of the English Government ; and thus we see the lamentable spectacle of a poor and small people

being crushed under a burden which ought to fall upon others, a burden which, the heavier it is for the poor Cypriot, the lighter it is for the great and wealthy English nation ; and which burden was adroitly characterized by an Honourable Member of the English Government as a millstone hanging on the neck of the Cypriot and menacing to strangle him at every moment. In order that the ruinous work of this ' millstone '—the £92,000—be understood and the necessary attention may be drawn to the injustice done to us, we beg leave to be allowed to outline briefly the general situation of the island during the twenty-four years of English administration.

“ If we look at the Budget, we see that the greatest part thereof is absorbed by the salaries of the officials of the costly administration, and the only new items which may be considered as conducive to the improvement of the island is the granting aid for the Elementary Education and the item for Public Works. And in order that the shabbiness of the administration may be proved it suffices to say that out of a revenue of £205,000 the sum spent for the schools hardly amounts to £4,000, while the sum actually spent for public works hardly reaches £9,000. It will consequently surprise nobody to hear that a great part of the sum expended for the elementary education and the whole sum spent for the middle education are paid by the population of Cyprus, which is so heavily taxed, and that very few public works, in comparison to what ought to have been done, have been executed during the English administration for a period of twenty-four years. Our ports and roadsteads still remain in their natural condition, and at a time when all over the world electricity vies with steam for the rapidity of communications, even the elementary group of carriage roads has not been completed in the island, although the construction of the carriage roads does not necessitate a great outlay owing to the evenness of the ground, the absence of large rivers, and the cheapness of wages. The construction of village roads which form part of the group

of carriage roads has been imposed by a special law on the peasants, who are bound to construct them at their own expense or labour.

“No works for developing the productive powers of the country have been carried out by the Government Treasury, and, as you are aware, the experimental irrigation works were done from a special loan from the English Treasury. And it is by a similar loan that the contemplated irrigation works and the construction of railway between Nicosia and Famagusta and the harbour of Famagusta will be undertaken.

“It is as well known to you that for establishing a regular steam communication with Egypt it has been necessary to have recourse to the private funds of the country to a large extent, and the same may be said of the maintenance of the coasting steam service.

“The cost of the Agricultural Department, of the Rural Medical Service, and of one Veterinary Surgeon is also defrayed from private funds of the island. The expenditure for the destruction of locusts is also paid from the private locust-fund, from which most of the aforesaid expenses are drawn; and while the people of Cyprus is heavily taxed it is additionally taxed with the above and many other burdens which we consider superfluous to enumerate, bearing, moreover, the most unjust pecuniary bleeding of the £92,000, out of which sum £60,000 goes on an average out of the island annually, *i.e.*, the whole of the surplus which England has expressly undertaken to spend on the improvement of the island.

“Is it, therefore, astonishing if a great scarcity of gold prevails in the island and if the Cypriot is literally poor, or will it arouse any surprise that Cyprus has in fact made no progress worth speaking of either through the Government or through private initiative under the British administration, with no hope of progress in the future? As long as the Government considers it as its sole mission to levy tyrannically the taxes, shutting its eyes at everything that would contribute to the benefit and relief of the inhabitants, private individuals

though not devoid of spirit of enterprise, as it was proved in many instances when Cypriots established themselves abroad, have not been able to make a step ahead, being enervated under the paralytical influence of poverty.

“ In consequence of all these drawbacks agriculture, which is the principal financial source of the country is still in a primitive condition ; industry is very meagre and poor ; while navigation is quite extinct, and no other source of wealth has been opened anywhere in the island. These are the reasons which tend to produce the singular fact that the population of Cyprus, having at its command a large and fertile soil, instead of being one of the wealthiest people in the world, is the poorest, being deprived of every means and support to exploit the natural resources of his country ; the landed property has been reduced to a much lower price than under the Turkish administration, while the land tax remains stable at its over-estimated rate in order that the ruin of the land-owners may sooner be brought about, such owners being often unable to recover hardly anything more than the tax payable by them.

“ Nevertheless, things might be remedied and the fate of the island improved if the unjust burden of the £92,000 were removed from the shoulders of the Cypriots, and we beg to lay stress upon the fact that, should this sum continue to be levied for a few years more, the present financial languor will be certainly turned into a catastrophe—a fact which will be far from conducing either to the material or moral credit of the British Government.

“ If Cyprus, instead of being so far deprived of the annual sum of £60,000, was granted this amount for its improvement, there would undoubtedly be a change within a short time ; Cyprus would be in a position which England might be proud of, and the promise given by it that it would render Cyprus a model administration towards Turkey and its subjects, making of it a paradise of the East, would be accomplished. The least we could claim, Right Honourable Sir, is that this unjust

burden of the £92,000 be removed from us, so that we may not be hampered in our course forward, a right to which we are certainly entitled.

“How unjust and oppressive this burden is for the people of Cyprus appears from the fact that not only the Greek but also the Moslem population (which is for racial reasons favourable to the payment of the £92,000, as it considers it a mark of subjection of the island to the Sultan), as well as the Cyprus Government itself, have raised their voices for the removal of this scourge from the shoulders of the Cyprus people.

“In 1892 a resolution was unanimously passed by the elected (both Greek and Turkish) and the official members of the Legislative Council that Cyprus might be relieved from the payment of the £92,000, and the then High Commissioner declared that he would feel very glad if the wishes of the Council were listened to and carried out.

“Sir Robert Biddulph, former High Commissioner of Cyprus, expressed himself unreservedly against this burden, having predicted, several years ago, that no progress would be effected in Cyprus as long as this overwhelming weight lay on it.”\*

The reference in the last paragraph is probably to Sir Robert Biddulph's despatch of June 7, 1880, dealing with the revenue of the island, in which he wrote: “The revenue of Cyprus is ample . . . to pay for all sorts of improvements, and to pay sufficiently a staff of competent men to carry out those fiscal and judicial reforms which it is the desire of the Great Powers to see carried out in the territories of the Sublime Porte, but which, it is admitted on all hands, require the superintendence of persons who have not been trained in Turkey. But there is not sufficient to do all this, as well as to pay to Turkey the same amount that she used to receive from Cyprus. . . . It is obvious that it is unreasonable to suppose that the revenue will at present admit of such enormous subsidy as we are paying to Turkey; and that it is hard on

\* Affairs relating to Cyprus.—Parliamentary Paper Cd. 3996.

a country which has a revenue that is double its expenditure to be compelled to postpone necessary public works, and to continue a number of taxes which press heavily on the people, and to be obliged to borrow money (for that is what we shall come to) in order to continue the annual payment to Turkey of the average sum which was only raised to its present high figure by the total neglect of all local necessities. . . . I trust that some measure may be devised for lightening the burden that weighs on the revenues of Cyprus in order to enable us to make those financial reforms that are expected of us.”\*

The measure devised was the Parliamentary grant-in-aid. But Sir R. Biddulph dealt with the matter in another aspect when discussing in a subsequent despatch the question of laying the annual estimates before the Legislative Council. In February, 1881, he wrote : “ It may be expected that if Her Majesty’s Government concede that the people of Cyprus have the same right of regulating their expenditure as have the people of England, a right which in theory is indisputable, what becomes of the annual payment to Turkey ? How am I to meet a proposal that the payment should be left to the country that guaranteed it ? My reply will, of course, be that, in administering the government of Cyprus, England did not undertake to relieve Cyprus from contributing to the general expenses of Turkey in the same way as before, and that by limiting the amount to what was formerly contributed, we hoped by good administration to obtain a further margin which will go in the revision of taxation or in works of public benefit. But this very reply disposes of the theory of controlling their own expenditure.”†

But to return to the Memorial ; it presents, of course, an extreme view of the case, and no impartial critic will pass judgment without hearing the arguments on both sides. Let us see, therefore, what were the arguments

\* Despatch from Sir R. Biddulph to Earl Granville, June 7, 1880.—Parliamentary Paper C. 2629.

† Despatch from Sir R. Biddulph to the Earl of Kimberley, February 19, 1881.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3005.

used by the Imperial Government in defence of their policy. When Mr. Winston Churchill, as Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited Cyprus in 1907, a Memorial was presented to him by the Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council—who have always been indefatigable in such matters—in which they quoted the words used in 1903, stating that “it was admitted by all that, from a financial point of view, the misfortunes of Cyprus are due to the yearly alienation of the sum of money which, in proportion to her resources and public revenue, is enormous.”\* In his reply, Mr. Churchill dealt with the matter of the “tribute” in the following words :

“I have left the question of the ‘tribute’ to the last, because it is the most practical of the questions on which you have addressed me. It is a matter which has a political as well as a financial aspect. From the political point of view it is clear that payment could only cease with the abrogation of the treaty by which the occupation of the island is secured ; and His Majesty’s Government do not contemplate any abrogation of the treaty.

“The financial aspect of the matter has already received the serious consideration of His Majesty’s present advisers. By recent arrangements, which fix the amount of the annual grant-in-aid at £50,000, the pressure on the Island Treasury has already been reduced and relieved. I hope that larger funds may be available in the near future for the development of public works in various parts of the island. . . . It is quite true that the new arrangement of the grant-in-aid is limited to a period of three years. But I daresay that when the time to reconsider it is reached, if the British Government see encouraging results from the new arrangement achieved, it will certainly not be altered to the disadvantage of the island.” †

It will be observed that in this reply the assumption is made

\* Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus—Parliamentary Paper Cd. 3996.

† Ibid.

that England was bound by the treaty to pay the "tribute" from Cyprus revenues, ignoring the contention of the Memorialists of 1903 that "the payment of the surplus which was fixed at £92,000 is an obligation of England alone and not Cyprus towards the Porte."

But Mr. Churchill in his reply referred to a matter which requires some explanation. Until the year 1907 Parliament, as has been stated above, voted annually a sum in aid of Cyprus revenues to meet the deficit caused by the excess of expenditure over revenue after the "tribute" obligation had been met. As the annual revenue depended mainly on the harvest and varied largely in consequence from year to year, the sum required to meet the deficit varied in proportion; in the year 1882-83 the grant-in-aid amounted to no less than £90,000, whilst in respect of some years by reason of bountiful harvests and consequent large revenue no grant-in-aid proved necessary and none was paid. The consequence was that an excess of expenditure over revenue affected the pockets of the British taxpayer, but imposed no burden on Cyprus funds, so that it was to the manifold interest of the Cypriot population to resist any increase of taxation and to put forward demands for expenditure on every conceivable object. This was well illustrated by the incident recorded on page 85, when the utility of an important and long-overdue law passed in the Legislative Council providing for the Registration and Revaluation of all Immovable Property in the island was seriously impaired by the insertion by the elected members of a ridiculous clause limiting *in perpetuam* the amount of revenue to be derived from the tax on immovable property. With a Legislative Council in which the elected members exceeded the Government members by two to one—since the Council consists of twelve elected members and only six Government members—it can hardly be a matter of surprise that the passing of the yearly Budget proved an exceedingly difficult task for the local executive. It would indeed in all probability have been impossible under normal circumstances but for the fact

that the Turkish elected members have usually supported the payment of the "tribute," regarding it as an acknowledgment of the sovereignty over the island of the Ottoman Empire. But what is to be said for an arrangement which created a permanent antagonism between the Imperial Government and Cypriot taxpayers; which made the aim of the British authorities an equilibrium between local revenue and local expenditure, including the "tribute," and the aim of the Cypriot taxpayer a large excess of expenditure over revenue, since the deficit merely formed a liability of Imperial Funds? That such an arrangement was allowed to continue for thirty-three years is inexplicable, except on the supposition that the permanent officials at the Colonial Office and the Treasury were too much absorbed in other work to devote time to a thorough consideration of the matter. Friction has been incessant, and on one occasion the whole machinery of a Royal Order in Council had to be invoked in order to sanction expenditure which the Legislative Council in Cyprus refused to vote. Some idea may be formed of the financial difficulties with which the local administration in Cyprus has had to contend since the British occupation, with the enormous sum of £92,800 to meet each year as "tribute," with a mainly hostile legislature opposing for thirty-three years any addition to taxation, while clamouring for expenditure in every direction, and with the Imperial Government calling for the strictest economy in order that the deficit might be kept as low as possible. In such circumstances one may be permitted to wonder, not that the result has been in many ways disappointing, but that any satisfactory result has been possible at all.

An end was put however to the absurd situation when, in 1907, the Imperial Government decided to ask Parliament to vote a fixed annual sum of £50,000 as grant-in-aid of Cyprus revenues; and although this was at first limited to a period of three years, it has been continued ever since.\* The result

\* In the year 1910-11 the grant was reduced to £40,000, but with this exception it has been £50,000 each year since 1907-08.

has been, as might have been anticipated, to place the local finances on an entirely different footing; the Local Government, being able to count on a fixed grant-in-aid, has been in a position to arrange the Budget accordingly. The net liability on account of "tribute" is reduced to the fixed sum of £42,800, and any surplus of revenue over expenditure is expended in the island. Under the old arrangement there could be no surplus, for the annual deficit was made good by the Imperial Government in the form of a grant which amounted to the precise sum required. Since 1907 good harvests and increased prosperity, coupled with careful and conservative estimates of revenue, have resulted in the realization of considerable surpluses, which have been devoted to expenditure on many useful objects, mostly themselves revenue providing; as an instance, the Government railway has been extended, the capital charge being met from these surplus funds.

Since the annexation of Cyprus to Great Britain on the outbreak of war with Turkey on November 5, 1914, the so-called "tribute" has appeared in the annual budget as "Share of Cyprus of the Turkish Debt Charge," and the argument may be put forward that Cyprus may reasonably be expected to shoulder a portion of the Ottoman Public Debt, and that this in fact is what the island has done since the occupation in 1878, although for convenience the payment was characterized as "tribute." Incidentally it may be remarked that such an argument runs counter to the claim that the "tribute" is payable by the island under the terms of the Convention with Turkey. But in any case it may be doubted whether there is any other instance in British colonial history of a similar arrangement, and it is certainly contrary to preconceived notions. Since the occupation Cyprus has paid no less a sum than £3,533,136 as "tribute" or "debt charge"—whichever name may be preferred—whilst the sum received during the same period from the Imperial Government as grants-in-aid amounts to £1,347,085. The facts relating to the payment of the so-called "Cyprus tribute" or "debt charge" have been

set forth as impartially as possible, and from them an opinion can be formed as to whether the British Government has been justified in making the payment due to the Porte under the Cyprus Convention a charge on the Cyprus revenues, or whether, after assuming by treaty with Turkey the responsibility for administering the island—an arrangement to which the inhabitants of Cyprus were in no way a party—there was any justification for the British Government making this payment a charge on the island revenues, and utilizing it towards meeting the interest on an old debt of the Ottoman Empire entirely unconnected with Cyprus.\* It is not uncommon in the British Empire to charge the revenues of its colonies and dependencies with the cost of any British garrison which may be maintained in their territories, and if this had been done in the case of Cyprus there would have been little to say. But it is a very different thing to fix upon Cyprus revenues a permanent charge equivalent to the average sum extracted annually from the island by the Porte during five years of Turkish occupation. Is it possible to doubt that if Cyprus had remained in Turkish hands public opinion would have forced the Porte to provide a more liberal administration, and that the sum annually available for remission to Constantinople would in consequence have decreased instead of remaining constant? Finally, is it not the duty of the British Government to see that the revenue raised in taxation in any of its dependencies is expended for the benefit of those dependencies, and that no portion is utilized for exterior purposes having no direct individual connection with the taxpayers who provide the revenue?

\* Lord Eversley, in his recently published book *The Turkish Empire ; Its Growth and Decay*, after describing the financial arrangements made in the Cyprus Convention, makes the following comment :—" The arrangement was made hastily and without due enquiry, with the result that the island has been burthened with a charge far in excess of its past payments to the Porte and the British taxpayers have been compelled to bear a part of the burthen."

## CHAPTER V.

### ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS AND REFORMS.

THE task which confronted the new administration to which was now entrusted the future welfare of Cyprus was no light one. The three hundred years of Turkish government had reduced the island to a state of stagnation, and to stir the dry bones needed energy and initiative. Not that Turkey can be accused in latter years of downright maladministration : it was a case rather of absence of administration. In some senses the government had been a liberal one. The Christian community, which comprised three-fourths of the population, had been left free to practise its own religion ; the Orthodox Greek Church had not only been left unmolested in the exercise of its spiritual functions, but its ministers had even been assisted by the Turkish tax collectors in the collection of their church dues and admitted to a considerable share in the government.

But the proportion of the taxes raised in the island which had been devoted in Turkish times to the needs of those who paid the taxes was insignificant. The account of expenditure rendered by the Ottoman Government for the five years preceding the British occupation showed an annual average of only £24,000 a year, and this, be it remembered, was for an island 3,500 square miles in extent with a population of 200,000 souls. The average revenue from direct and indirect taxation during the same period is calculated to have amounted to not less than £130,000 per annum, so that the sum expended on local administration was only eighteen per cent. of the taxes paid by the inhabitants, the balance being sent to Constantinople. In the light of these facts it can hardly be a matter of

surprise that the island in 1878 was found to be without roads, its harbours silted up, the peasants apathetic, agriculture languishing, trade and commerce undeveloped, and a general state of paralysis prevailing. What conceivable incentive had the Cypriot to toil energetically when eighty per cent. of the money he paid in taxes was taken out of the island to fill the coffers of his Ottoman masters in Constantinople?

The administration had passed to the British Government suddenly and unexpectedly, and there was no question of upsetting the prevailing system or machinery, nor indeed would it have been possible to do so, seeing that there had been no time to take stock, to formulate plans, or to think out a substitute. Sir Garnet Wolseley simply stepped into the position vacated by the Turkish Governor, and nominated six British officers to take the places of the Turkish *Kaimakams* who had been in charge of the six administrative divisions. These set to work with characteristic British energy to evolve some order out of the chaos to which Oriental neglect and apathy had reduced the towns and villages in their districts. The Turkish machinery for tax collecting was taken over as it stood, together with the existing system, and the native establishments were transferred bodily to the new administration. The old Turkish gendarmerie—the *zaptieh* or police force—which had existed for the maintenance of law and order, for executing warrants of the courts, and above all for assisting in the collection of taxes, was taken in hand and reformed, and one of the first legal instruments promulgated by the new administration provided for its recruitment, pay, conditions of service, discipline, pensions, gratuities, and so forth. Hence, in a short time there was in existence an efficient military police force, properly officered, clothed, armed, and accoutred; this was distributed amongst the various districts, small detachments being quartered in central villages from which patrols were regularly sent to outlying localities, and in this way the whole island was rapidly brought under efficient police supervision.

A very necessary reform of the currency was inaugurated by Sir Robert Biddulph, who succeeded Sir Garnet Wolseley as High Commissioner on June 23, 1879. At the time of the occupation the principal medium of exchange was a depreciated form of paper money known under the name of *caimé*, valued at about 250 piastres of Turkish money: various currencies were in use in different parts of the island, and the introduction of some uniform system was imperative. In 1879, therefore, the value of the English sovereign was fixed at 180 piastres, and a copper coinage was struck for Cyprus, bearing the effigy of the Queen, and consisting of piastres, half piastres, and quarter piastres. In 1900 a silver coinage was issued, consisting of pieces of 18, 9, 4½, and 3 piastres, equivalent respectively to 2s., 1s., 6d., and 4d. of English money. These coins bear on the obverse the effigy of the sovereign and on the reverse the Lusignan lion, and, in company with the English sovereign, they form the sole currency of the island. The Government and other accounts are kept in pounds sterling, shillings, and "copper piastres," the latter so called to distinguish them from Turkish or Egyptian piastres, which have a different value. The seigniorate on Cyprus silver accruing to the Government of Cyprus amounts to some £35,000, which is invested in various securities, the interest from which is credited to the island revenue.

Writing in 1879, a year after the British occupation, Sir Samuel Baker was loud in his praise of the work done during those first twelve months by the British officials—drawn almost entirely from the army, as the occupation was at its inception of a military nature—and of "the extreme devotion to a most difficult task in a contradictory position, exhibited not only by the Governor and Commissioners of districts, but by all British officers entrusted with authority." "No officer," he writes, "understood either the language, or laws, of the people they had to govern; they were for the most part specially educated for the military profession, and they were suddenly plunged into official positions where agricultural,

legal, commercial, and engineering difficulties absorbed their entire attention, all of which had to be comprehended through the medium of an interpreter. It is rare that the most favoured individual combines such general knowledge; Turks and Greeks, antagonistic races, were to lie down contented like the lion and the lamb under the blessing of a British rule; all animosities were to be forgotten. The religion of Mussulmans would remain inviolate, and the Greek Church would hold its former independence; freedom and equality were to be assured when the English flag replaced the Crescent and Star upon the red ensign beneath which Cyprus had withered as before a flame; the resources of the country were to awaken as from a long sleep, and the world should witness the marvellous change between Cyprus when under Turks, and when transferred to Englishmen. 'Look upon that picture, and on this!' The officers of our army were magicians to effect this transformation, not only strangers to the climate, language, laws, customs, people, but without *money*: as the island had been robbed of revenue by the conditions of the Turkish Convention." \*

"An Englishman's first idea," says the same author, "is improvement, and I believe that upon entering heaven itself he would suggest some alteration." † Before the new administration had been at work six months, however, letters were received by public men in England alleging all sorts of grievances on the part of the Greek population in Cyprus, and on March 24, 1879, a debate took place in the House of Commons during which a number of questions were asked relating to Cyprus affairs. The majority of the complaints had reference to alleged injustices to the Greek population of the island; it was asserted that petitions written in the Greek language were refused, and Greek newspapers excluded from the island; that priests of the Orthodox Church were sent to gaol, and the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop and Bishops interfered with; that Turks were given a majority on the Councils of the island, and that persons

\* "Cyprus as I Saw It in 1879," by Sir Samuel Baker.

† Ibid.

proposed as members of the Legislative Council were rejected merely on the ground that they were Greeks.

On reference being made to Sir Garnet Wolseley, he at once instituted an enquiry, and ascertained that the complaints originated mostly from "a small and insignificant clique of foreigners who, seeking for notoriety, are prepared to make the most monstrous and unfounded charges against anyone, regardless of truth, as long as they secure what is to them a great distinction, namely, that of seeing their names quoted in print as the authority for statements which are made seriously and in good faith in Parliament by over-credulous members who have been deceived by the very circumstantiality introduced into these untruthful charges." \*

The root of the alleged grievances was soon found to exist in the enforcement of the law by the British authorities on all persons and classes alike. Under the lax Turkish *régime* favours were easily purchased, and the ministers of the Greek Church had been treated with peculiar leniency because the Turkish authorities had relied to a great extent on their assistance in the collection of revenue and the enforcement of various orders. In the words of the Commissioner of Limassol, against whom charges had more particularly been preferred :

"Priests are imprisoned when convicted by the Courts, all are equal before the law ; the priests, when formerly imprisoned by the Church, were set at liberty without leave or authority. . . . The classes who possessed immunity have now been brought to a dead level with the poorer villager, and the attempt to bring the latter into the ranks of the Adullamites is an impudent imposture." †

Lest, however, there should be supposed to be any hesitation on the part of the local authorities in enquiring into the truth of the allegations or a desire to evade enquiry, reports were called for from all Commissioners, and a Judicial Commission

\* Despatch of April 10, 1879, from Sir G. Wolseley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—Parliamentary Paper C. 2324.

† Ibid.

was sent to Limassol before which the complainants were invited to appear and substantiate their statements. The Commission resulted in establishing the fact that the complaints were either untrue or grossly exaggerated and misrepresented, and the Judicial Commissioner was able to report that he had "the satisfaction of believing that the Bishop of Citium and the 'extreme Hellenic' inhabitants of Cyprus, who have evinced an almost excited interest in the inquiry, have left it with no feeling of soreness, and with the conviction that the welfare of the inhabitants was the anxious care of the administration." \* No more complaints were heard after this, and the island rapidly settled down to the new conditions entailed by the change of administration.

Towards the close of the year 1880 it was decided to transfer correspondence relating to Cyprus to the superintendence of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in a despatch dated December 6, 1880, the High Commissioner was directed by Lord Granville to address his despatches and letters on the public service accordingly. The affairs of the island were henceforth directed from the Colonial Office instead of being, as hitherto, under the superintendence of the Foreign Office. Lord Kimberley, however, decided to send out to Cyprus an official "well versed in the principles and practice of Colonial administration" to consult with the High Commissioner, and report upon the administrative requirements of the island, and in the autumn of 1881 Mr. Fairfield, a member of the Colonial Office, was despatched to Cyprus for this purpose; and in 1882 an exhaustive report was submitted by that officer dealing with the whole administrative and financial situation of the island. The report formed the basis of a number of administrative and financial reforms which were subsequently introduced into the island. But it proved clearly that neither increased revenue nor any considerable economy in administration could be expected. "It would not be credit-

\* Letter from Mr. Phillips to Colonel Greaves, June 12 1879.—Parliamentary Paper C. 2355.

able for us," wrote Mr. Fairfield, "to govern as cheaply as did the Turks, even if it were practicable. They governed cheaply because they governed badly. They let everything go to ruin. They executed no public works. They paid ordinary judges 14s. a month, and other salaries were in proportion. *Zaptiehs* lived at free quarters on the common people." It was recognized that by lavish expenditure of public money on harbours, railways, afforestation, artesian well boring, agricultural banks, and so forth, a state of forced prosperity might be achieved. But "it does not seem necessary," wrote Mr. Fairfield, "to argue against a plan which amounts to a speculation with the proceeds of English taxes in an effort to change the face of nature and the characters of the seasons in an island not exactly our own. . . . A fairer and more hopeful plan of action seems to be to fix the establishment of the island on an efficient but somewhat parsimonious basis, to re-adjust taxation so as not to hamper industry, to afford moderate assistance from Parliamentary votes for a term, and to trust to the natural growth of wealth and revenue under a wise and orderly Government." \*

As a result of this report a number of administrative reforms were introduced, and the grant of a Constitution in 1882 providing for a Legislative Council with twelve elected members gave the people a direct voice in the management of the affairs of the island.

In 1887 great distress was caused by drought, due to the absence of winter rains, and measures were undertaken by Government for the relief of the villagers, who were threatened with ruin by the almost complete failure of their crops: relief works were started in the districts more concerned, and large advances of seed corn were made to the farmers. The revenue, dependent as it was to a great extent on the tithe, was seriously affected, and when the Legislative Council met in the spring of 1888 the financial position gave rise to serious alarm amongst

\* Memorandum by Mr. G. Fairfield, June, 1882.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3661.

the elected members. They adopted the course, when the Appropriation Bill for the year was presented to the Council, of voting for a number of reductions in the sums appropriated for various departments, explaining that they desired economies effected by abolishing certain offices in the Government Service and reducing the salaries and emoluments of a number of Government officials. Holding a majority over the official members the elected members carried these reductions, and it was eventually found necessary to obtain legislative sanction for funds to carry on the administration by obtaining an Order in Council by Her Majesty to provide the requisite funds. The incident, coupled with the distress caused by the drought of the previous year, had created considerable unrest in the island, and meetings had been held in most of the principal towns at which resolutions were passed demanding various reforms and alleging a number of grievances. As a result of these meetings a deputation consisting of three leading members of the Greek community visited England in 1889 in order to lay before the Imperial Government a statement of the grievances from which the island was said to be suffering, and put forward a number of proposals for reforms of various descriptions. The Memorial submitted by these gentlemen covered a vast number of subjects, amongst which the principal related to the financial position of the island, the taxation of the country, the payments made to the Porte, the value of landed property, the constitutional powers of the Legislative Council, and the constitution of the Executive Council, education, the agricultural interests of the island, the police force, and the condition of the Independent Eastern Orthodox Church in Cyprus. All these matters were duly considered by the Secretary of State, and his views regarding them were conveyed to the High Commissioner in a lengthy despatch of March 22, 1890,\* which was laid in due course before the Legislative Council. In this despatch

\* Despatch from Lord Knutsford to Sir Henry Bulwer, March 22, 1890.—Parliamentary Paper C. 6003.

the complaints of the Memorialists regarding the alleged over-taxation and consequent exhaustion of the resources of the island were analysed, and it was shown conclusively that, although the revenue derived from taxation had increased since Turkish times, so far from taxes having been increased, a net remission of nearly £20,000 per annum had been effected since the British occupation. "Grievances about taxation," wrote Lord Knutsford, "usually take the form of objections to the imposition of novel and heavier rates of taxation; and, as far as I know, never to the more abundant yield from indirect taxes. More often, indeed, a decreasing yield in that branch of revenue is adduced as evidence that a government is ruining a country. Yet it is into a complaint against the increasing yield of indirect taxation that the arguments in the Memorial are found to resolve themselves." \* With regard to the alleged exhaustion of the resources of the island, figures were adduced showing that the average wheat crop for the eleven years since the British occupation was double in quantity the highest estimates obtainable in respect of Turkish times, and that the barley crop had increased about fifty per cent. Lord Knutsford then proceeded to deal seriatim with the other matters which had formed the subject of the Memorial, and concluded by "venturing to hope that a careful perusal of the despatch would convince the members of the deputation and the Memorialists that their views had received very full and careful consideration, and that Her Majesty's Government had closely at heart, and was most anxious to promote in every way, the welfare and prosperity of the island."

The incident no doubt had an excellent effect in clearing the air and proving to the Cypriot population that the affairs of the island were watched with anxious solicitude both by the local administration and by the Government in England, and it enabled the Colonial Office to hear at first hand the

\* Despatch from Lord Knutsford to Sir Henry Bulwer, March 22 1890.—Parliamentary Paper C. 6003.

views of the people, and discuss with their representatives the most important of the problems connected with the island. The careful consideration given to these problems had certain indirect results, which led to changes and improvements in various branches of the administration, but the only immediate and tangible result appears to have been the reduction of the charge for passports from five shillings to one and fourpence—a very exiguous mouse to result from the labour of mountains.

Village and municipal administration has undergone little change since the British occupation, though various laws have been passed from time to time in the Legislative Council designed to improve and modernize the machinery. Municipal Councils have been set up in many of the principal towns and endowed with considerable powers for raising municipal revenue, but the result has in most cases been disappointing. Although empowered to raise money by levying a rate on property the Councils have preferred to rely on a number of petty indirect taxes—such as weighing fees, storage of petroleum, market dues, and so forth—for raising the municipal revenue, with the result that with the meagre funds resulting they have failed to make adequate arrangements for water supply, street lighting and cleaning, sanitation, and all similar requirements of an urban community. The capital in particular suffers from a defective water supply, the streets are narrow, tortuous, and ill-paved, and until recently, when electric light was installed, a few ill-burning lamps were all that relieved the darkness at night. On the other hand, the municipality of Limassol, which obtains a considerable revenue from weighing dues owing to the large export of carob beans from the port, has displayed remarkable energy and administrative ability in improving the amenities of the town. It maintains a hospital, and has laid out municipal gardens, where a municipal band plays in the afternoon ; the streets are clean and well-lighted, and excellent municipal markets and slaughter-houses have been provided. Visitors to the island

who land at Limassol are impressed with the appearance of the town, which is rapidly growing in prosperity and wealth, and compares favourably with any town of its size in the Levant.

Village administration in Cyprus is based on an excellent system, which has probably prevailed in something like its present form for centuries. Each village has its *Mukhtar* or headman, and its council of *Azas* or elders ; a number of " field watchmen " guard the crops, and are charged with preventing trespass or damage by the village flocks. Formerly the *Mukhtar* was appointed to his post by Government, but some time ago, owing to the passion of the Greek population for democratic institutions, a law was passed in the Legislative Council providing that this functionary should be elected by the villagers. The result of this innovation has been anything but satisfactory. In every village, though the majority of the inhabitants are peaceful and law-abiding, and desire nothing but the maintenance of law and order, there are a certain number of persons who are bent on exploiting their fellow-villagers for their own benefit, and these persons by unscrupulous methods in many cases succeed in getting themselves elected to the post of *Mukhtar*. The multitude of elections are, moreover, apt to create bad blood amongst the various parties and cliques into which every village is divided, and many crimes are directly traceable to this cause. Not infrequently persons who are entirely illiterate, or whose reputation is anything but good, obtain election to the office of *Mukhtar*, and, although the High Commissioner is empowered by law to dismiss from his office a *Mukhtar* guilty of misconduct, there is nothing to prevent the same man being elected again by his party, if they are in the majority. Public opinion is slowly coming round to the view that the present system is a mistake, and it is possible that the Legislative Council would be favourably inclined towards an amendment of the existing law which would abolish some of the abuses which undoubtedly exist.

The election of field watchmen and the assessing of their wages by the villagers, is also a cause of much discontent, and, although the law governing the present system has been amended in various directions from time to time, it has proved most unsatisfactory, and has been described more than once as "bad from top to bottom." A proposal which has been made to change the field watchmen into a kind of rural police has much to commend it, and may prove the means of placing the whole system on a more satisfactory basis, but the members of the Legislative Council have been unable to agree on any such measure, and until they do no alteration in the present system is possible.

Cyprus, like many other similarly circumstanced countries, suffers from a perpetual feud between the owners of flocks and the tillers of the soil, and this leads to quarrels and disputes, which not infrequently have a fatal termination. Murder and homicide are by no means an uncommon feature of village life, and, although the *crime passionnel* is certainly the commonest, yet the antagonism between the shepherds and the farmers is a fruitful source of breaches of the law. There can be no doubt that amendments to the laws relating to village authorities and field watchmen, and fresh legislation regulating the carrying of fire-arms and knives would do much to diminish the crime which is all too common in Cyprus, but the elected members of the Legislature are very jealous of any measures supposed to curtail the liberty of the people or interfere with democratic institutions, and with the Legislative Council constituted as it is the executive is powerless to press measures unacceptable to the remainder of the Council.

There is one defect in the present system of district administration which should be remedied : an important link is missing between the village organization and the Commissioner, who is the direct representative of the Government. In Turkish times each district or *Kaza* was administered by a *Kaimakam*, and was subdivided into *Nahiehs* or sub-districts, in charge of which were officials termed *Mudirs*. Shortly after the

British occupation, when strenuous endeavours were being made to reduce administrative expenses, attention was turned to the latter officials. "Hitherto," wrote Mr. Fairfield, "part of the Mudir's duty has been to talk to and be talked to by the people—to exhort them to pay taxes, to plant trees, and to mend their water-wheels, for the government of the Cypriots involves more 'palaver' than that of any other people under our jurisdiction . . . It seems hardly necessary to keep up a staff of officers merely to exhort people to mind their own business." \* So the fiat went forth, and in the interests of economy the Mudir was turned into a sheriff's officer and sent perambulating his Nahieh, selling up the immovable property of the villager who had fallen into debt, and executing the decrees of the Court. The Commissioner was thus deprived of the services of the only person on whom he could rely both to ascertain the views and the wants of the villager and to explain to the latter the views and orders of the Government. Yet the vital importance of such an intermediary between the Commissioner and the villager is obvious, more especially when the barrier of language is remembered. The diversion of the Mudirs from their proper duties was a very ill-judged piece of economy on the part of the Government, and the mistake should be remedied as quickly as possible. There should be in each district a native assistant, selected from amongst the most intelligent of the people, known to and trusted by every villager—or at least every Mukhtar—in the district, who would be the medium for conveying to the people the wishes of the Government, and to the Government, through the Commissioner, the wants of the people. Mr. Fairfield's airy sarcasm about exhorting people to mind their own business shows ignorance of the true situation, and a lamentable want of insight into the needs of a backward and ignorant peasantry. The Mudir should never have been turned into a sheriff's officer: the number might well have been reduced and the pay increased so as to secure the best class of

\* Report by Mr. Fairfield.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3661.

individual for this most important post. So long as *Mudirs* remain sheriff's officers the Government will be out of touch with the people, ignorant of their wants, an alien Government in every sense. Every Commissioner knows and feels this, and is aware of the remedy, but is powerless to supply it. There is a great difference between false economy and true economy; the difference has not always been recognized in Cyprus, and this is a case in point.

## CHAPTER VI.

### TAXATION AND FINANCE.

ON assuming the administration of the island the first step taken by the Government was to make a careful survey of the financial assets and liabilities which had been inherited from its Turkish possessors, and in September, 1878, a report was submitted by the Financial Commissioner. This report contained an estimate of revenue and expenditure for the year, together with a memorandum describing the character and operation of the several taxes existing in the island.

The Turks taxed almost everything : a list of their taxes exhibited no less than twenty-four classes of imports, which included almost every device known for raising revenue, to the most modern, namely, an income tax and stamps on the written transactions of daily life. The revenue raised under the Turkish Government, however, may be classified under eight main heads, namely : (i.) Tithes on agricultural produce ; (ii.) Property tax and trade taxes ; (iii.) Sheep and goat tax ; (iv.) Customs dues ; (v.) Excise on tobacco and spirits ; (vi.) Salt monopoly ; (vii.) Exemption from military service ; (viii.) Miscellaneous taxes.

Of these the revenue obtained from tithes was the most important item, as it provided considerably more than a third of the total revenue of the island. Under normal conditions this may be regarded as a fair and reasonable tax, and is an exceedingly common one in Oriental countries, where it is usually levied, as in Cyprus, in kind ; but when it is applied to every imaginable kind of agricultural and horticultural produce it is apt to result in unfair and irritating restrictions, which hamper produce and lead to a minimum development of agricultural industry. This was the case in Cyprus, where

the system of collecting tithes was designed with the sole object of extracting the maximum of revenue at a minimum of cost, an object obtained by farming out the tithes to private persons, who were more concerned with making what profits they could than with collecting the tithes with justness and fairness. Nor could it be expected that the cultivation of cereals, fruit, and vegetables would be encouraged by a system which provided that no produce could be removed from any field or garden until it should have been valued for taxation by the Government official appointed for that purpose at the rate of ten per cent. *ad valorem*. On the other hand, the tax had this advantage, that it varied in precise proportion to the annual yield, and, being levied in kind, was eminently suited to a community of agriculturists, for the most part very poor small-holders, who were without capital, and whose sole wealth consisted in the produce which they were able to obtain from the soil.

Under the Turkish Government the tithes were sold to merchants or speculators in the spring of each year, when the extent and quality of the year's produce could be estimated from an examination of the ripening crops. The tithe farmer signed a bond for the amount of his purchase, payable in six monthly instalments, beginning from August 1st. This done, he proceeded to watch the fields, and to see the grain cut, threshed, and heaped; the tithe was taken on the threshing floor, and arrangements made by the cultivators for its transport to the nearest port of embarkation on terms more or less unfavourable to themselves. Their cattle were taken away for transport when most required in their own fields, and they had to bear all the expense of transit except the expense of the first mile, which was paid by the tithe farmer. With regard to fruit, vegetables, and other perishable articles, the tithe was usually commuted in a money payment, which led almost invariably to disputes, determinable by the head Government official of each locality, who usually gave his decision in favour of the tithe farmer. In the autumn the vineyards were

similarly visited, and as the cultivator was usually unwilling to risk the deterioration or loss of his stock which disputes as to valuation would involve, he was forced to submit to the exactions of the tithe farmer.

Although keen in their dealings with the peasantry, however, the tithe farmers were by no means prompt in their own payments to the Government Treasury; and although interest was, under the bonds, payable on overdue instalments, it was in fact never enforced. The accounts handed over by the Turkish Government revealed the existence of considerable arrear claims, and of the collections credited in the year 1876-77, nearly one-half was on account of the claims of previous years. Thus the tithe system as practised by the Turkish Government was in almost every way injurious. It impoverished the peasant, involving him in the toils of the money-lender, as well as of the tithe farmer; it checked the productiveness of the island, the area under cultivation at the time of the British occupation being estimated as less than a third of the whole cultivable; and it resulted in a loss of revenue to the State, since the system of farming the tithes left in the hands of the tithe farmers a considerable proportion of the sums collected by the latter from the peasantry. The system was seen to be injurious, and it was promptly altered. "The collection of tithes was worse managed under the Turks," wrote Sir R. Biddulph in 1880, "than any other branch of their revenue. . . . The agency we used was altogether new to the Government. One of the largest and most successful tithe farmers was appointed by Sir Garnet Wolseley to be Chief Collector of Tithes, and placed immediately under the orders of the Auditor and Accountant-General. With his advice Superintendents and Agents were selected, chiefly from amongst men who had filled similar situations under the different tithe farmers, and each district was worked under the orders of the Commissioners. . . . The success achieved has been remarkable, and we are now using the tithe agents as permanent tax collectors, instead of following the Turkish

plan of having different collectors for each kind of tax. . . . Any money lost to the State has remained in the pockets of the people, and has not fallen into the hands of the middleman, as under the system of tithe farming." \*

Much correspondence ensued during subsequent years between the local and the Imperial Government on the subject of tithes and the question of their commutation for a money payment. At one time it was proposed to adopt a system introduced successfully into Ceylon, which formed a compromise between a variable tithe and a fixed annual payment, designed to allow for the uncertainty of harvests and at the same time accustom the minds of the people to the payment of a fixed sum. In 1879 the Government had decided that the farmer should pay in money the assessed value of the tithe due by him ; this relieved him from the obligation of conveying his tithe in kind to the Government stores, which, up to a distance of three miles, he was compelled to do free of charge, and left him free to dispose of all his produce as he chose. The Cypriot peasant is, however, by nature unthrifty, and the arrangement was found to work unsatisfactorily ; by the time the Government collector came round, the peasant had often no money wherewith to pay him, and was forced either to borrow the amount from a money-lender at a high rate of interest, or to fall into arrears with the Government, resulting in a fine for his failure to pay. About 1886, therefore, the rule was gradually relaxed in order to meet the necessities of certain districts, and the tithe was taken in kind. This arrangement has since been extended, and it is now in force throughout the island." † The Government has purchased or built large grain stores in every district, where the tithe corn is collected and eventually sold to merchants by means of tenders in the open market. The system has its advantages as well as its disadvantages. It enables the Government to exercise

\* Despatch from Sir R. Biddulph to Earl Granville, June 7, 1880.—Parliamentary Paper C. 2629.

† Except in certain hill villages, where, owing to the difficulties of transport, an arrangement is made each year whereby it is collected in cash.

a certain control over the price of grain, and to make large issues of seed corn every year to indigent farmers. It is popular with the peasant, who hands over to Government the tithe of his corn straight from the threshing floor, and so is quit of his tax for the year, instead of having a debt hanging over his head for some months.

The most important step taken by the Government with regard to the tithes, however, was their abolition in every case except that of the four principal crops—wheat, barley, oats, and vetches. The tithe on grapes was abolished, the Government imposing in return an additional excise duty on all wine and spirit made in the island, and an export duty on raisins ; similarly the tithe on carob beans was done away with, an export duty being imposed in lieu ; whilst the large number of fruits and vegetables which the Turks had taxed were altogether exempted from the payment of tithes, the people being thus freed not only from the payment of a tax, but from the objectionable restrictions under which they could not gather their fruit and garden produce until it had been first assessed.

The Property Tax, whilst providing less than a third of the amount obtained annually for tithes, came next in importance from the point of view of revenue. It was divided into three classes : (1) Tax on houses or immovable property, at the rate of four per thousand on the purchasing value. (2) Tax on the rent of immovable property, at the rate of four per cent. (3) Tax on professions and trades, at the rate of three per cent. on profits and salaries. This tax was assessed by the district authorities preparing statements showing the contributions required for each village and town, according to the number of houses, and the number and means of the population. The assessment was made roughly, and the tax was recovered by the *Mukhtars* or headmen of villages, selected by the inhabitants, and confirmed by the district authorities. The assessment of the first two classes of property tax was facilitated by the fact that all sales and transfers of immovable property had to be registered in the Land Registration Office, but the tax on trades

and professions was arbitrarily fixed for each town or village, and the *Mukhtars* were left in practice to levy the personal contribution of each taxpayer as they thought fit. It is clear that there was room for much extortion and oppression in this system, although the tax itself was both fair and reasonable ; but as in the case of the tithes, a considerable proportion of the money exacted from the taxpayers remained in the hands of the collectors and failed to reach the Government Treasury. In order that a Property Tax should be properly assessed, an accurate record and valuation of all existing property is clearly indispensable. Shortly after the occupation, an engineer officer of experience was employed to survey the island,\* and the work was completed in about three years. The scale of the survey ranged from two inches to a mile for the more mountainous and less populated parts to four inches to a mile for the cultivated plains, besides plans of the four principal towns on a scale of eight inches to a mile. All details were shown of which the scale permitted, such as roads, rivers, watercourses, woods, vineyards, orchards, and buildings, but not the boundaries of properties, so that full advantage could not be derived from the work as a revenue survey. To mark out the boundaries of every holding in the island the necessary expenditure was estimated at £50,000, the time necessary for such a survey to be twenty years, so that the undertaking was clearly impossible at the time. It was not till the year 1907 that the Legislative Council decided to pass a law providing for the revaluation and compulsory registration of all immovable property in the island, which entailed the carrying out of a cadastral survey, now in progress. Unfortunately the elected members inserted and carried a clause whereby any enhancement of revenue was prevented by the proviso that if in any district the revaluation of property

\* The officer in question was the late Lord Kitchener, then a subaltern of the Royal Engineers. It is not surprising that the survey work performed by him was described in 1882 as having "called forth the admiration of every competent critic who has examined it," as being "the cheapest survey of which there is any English experience."—Parliamentary Paper C. 3661.

resulted in an increase in the proceeds of the Property Tax, the rate at which the latter was assessed should be reduced to a figure which would produce from the new revaluation a sum equivalent to the previously existing sums. As the rate of four per thousand, which previously prevailed, was admitted on all sides to be fair and not excessive, this absurd proviso merely prevents the Property Tax of the island from making its proper contribution to the revenue, and diminishes the funds necessary for administrative purposes.

The revenues derived from the Sheep Tax, Customs Dues, Excise on Tobacco and Spirits, and Salt monopoly were collected on the whole with fairness and impartiality, and with adequate machinery. A regular enumeration of the sheep and goats in the island was carried out annually during the month of March, and the tax, amounting to about sixpence per head, was collected by the local Government officials. The Customs Dues amounted to eight per cent. on imports and one per cent. on exports. The salt obtained in large quantities from the lakes at Larnaca and Limassol formed a Government monopoly and was collected and sold for local consumption and export. Unfortunately an injudicious increase to the selling price made some years before the British occupation, combined with short weights and enhanced cost of shipment, had diverted a great part of the Syrian demand from Cyprus to the salt lakes of Tunis, and had reduced the revenue derived from this source ; but the latter was still considerable, and was from its nature obtained with very little trouble and expense. These taxes have been continued with little or no alteration, and remain in force.

The tax on exemption from military service had superseded the capitation tax formerly levied upon Christians and the subjects of the Porte who were not Moslems. It amounted to  $27\frac{3}{4}$  piastres (about 5s. 6d.) for each male inhabitant from twenty to forty years of age, though in practice it was levied upon males above and below those limits. It was collected by the *Mukhtars*, who were required to recover the money and

pay it into the Government Treasury in twelve monthly instalments. The tax was exceedingly unpopular and offensive to all whom it affected throughout the Turkish dominions, and Greek, Armenian, and Bulgarian subjects had protested against it from time to time, but without effect. It yielded, however, in Cyprus a sum of about £12,000 per annum, and was collected with a fair amount of impartiality and regularity. On the British occupation this tax was very properly extended to Moslems as well as non-Moslems, and was reduced to 2s. 6d. per head ; it became, in fact, a simple poll-tax on certain male taxpayers. It was open to all the ordinary objections to a poll-tax and was in addition very troublesome to collect. There was, however, a still more objectionable tax, called *verghi temettu*, nominally a tax of three per cent. on trade profits, which was levied even on agricultural labourers. The proper assessment of trade profits of many labourers and mechanics was clearly impossible, and it therefore became the practice amongst the Turks for the assessor to fix a stated amount according to the nature of the man's business ; the tax was therefore in reality a classified " trade licence tax," and taken in connection with the military exemption tax made far too heavy a demand on the labouring classes. This being recognized by the Government shortly after the British occupation, all labourers and mechanics were relieved from the payment of *verghi temettu*. Finally, in 1906, both this tax and the military exemption tax were altogether abolished, their disappearance being hailed with delight by the inhabitants.

The above account gives a brief summary of the principal taxes which were levied by the Turks at the time of the British occupation, and shows the manner in which they have since been modified. It is now necessary to turn to the revenue derived from them and the relation of the revenue to the expenditure in the island.

The estimate of revenue made by the Government for the first year of British occupation amounted to a sum of £170,000, made up as follows :

|                                     |    |    |         |
|-------------------------------------|----|----|---------|
| Tithes on Agricultural Produce      | .. | .. | £72,000 |
| Property and Trade Taxes            | .. | .. | 22,000  |
| Sheep Tax                           | .. | .. | 11,000  |
| Customs Dues                        | .. | .. | 13,400  |
| Excise on Tobacco and Spirit        | .. | .. | 16,850  |
| Salt Monopoly                       | .. | .. | 15,145  |
| Exemption from Military Service Tax |    | .. | 9,000   |
| Miscellaneous                       | .. | .. | 10,605  |

The estimate of expenditure for the same period was based upon the actual cost of the Turkish and native establishments maintained by the new administration, together with the cost of the new agencies created by the latter. As has been already stated, the account of expenditure rendered by the Ottoman Government showed an annual average for the previous five years of £24,000. Deducting from this the pay of officials and subordinates, establishments no longer retained, and the cost for six months of the old *Zaptieh* or police (the corresponding charge for the reformed police force being added to the estimated cost of the British establishment), a balance of £17,000 remained, and was accepted as a fair estimate of the charges for native establishments for the first year of the British administration. The charges for British establishments for the same period were estimated at £35,000, which sum included certain expenses incidental to the occupation of a new country unlikely to recur. The total estimated expenditure for the year, therefore, amounted to £52,000, leaving an estimated surplus of £118,000.

An examination of the accounts of Cyprus for the five years preceding the British occupation revealed the fact that the average surplus of revenue over expenditure had been less than £100,000. "The future yearly contribution to the Ottoman Government from the surplus revenues of Cyprus, under the Convention of June 4, 1878," wrote the Financial Commissioner on September 25, 1878, "will not, therefore, exceed, and may fall short of, the sum of £100,000. Nearly one-half

of this claim for the current year was taken by the Turk from surplus revenue before our arrival. We shall easily make up the balance from the revenue now in course of collection. And, under ordinary conditions, the current revenue will not only cover the annual payment to the Porte, and the expenses of administration, but also provide a fair outlay for roads and sanitary improvements." \*

What a rosy prospect! Cyprus did indeed seem to be in an enviable financial position, with a revenue more than three times its expenditure—a veritable gold mine. Even after paying away more than half its revenue annually to Constantinople the balance was to pay all the cost of the administrative machinery, and even—happy thought!—contribute something towards “roads and sanitary improvements.” Those who study the history of the thirty years which followed the issue of this famous memorandum may shrug their shoulders at its short-sightedness and confident optimism, and marvel at the failure to take any account of such items as public works, education, agriculture, forestry, and other necessary expenditure, but it can hardly cause surprise if the British Government, glancing merely at the figures given by the Financial Commissioner, decided without a qualm that the whole of the “surplus revenue” hypothecated to the Porte under the terms of the Convention should be a charge on the Cyprus taxpayer.

The first estimate of revenue, however, was soon found to have been far too optimistic: the amount realized fell short of the estimate by more than £30,000, and during the first twelve years of the British occupation the annual local revenue showed an average of only £165,000, while the average annual local expenditure during the same period amounted to no less than £112,000. The surplus of local revenue over local expenditure during these twelve years thus only amounted

\* Memorandum on the Revenue and Charges of the Island of Cyprus for the five years from 1873 to 1878, under Turkish administration, by Geo. W. Kellner, Financial Commissioner of Cyprus, dated September 25, 1878.

to an average of £53,000 per annum, which was quite insufficient to meet the liability, charged by the British Government on Cyprus funds, of £92,800 to be paid annually to the Porte, and the balance had to be paid by the Imperial Government in the form of an annual grant-in-aid.

The determination of the amount of grant-in-aid formed the subject of voluminous correspondence which passed between the High Commissioner, the Foreign Office, and the Treasury, and the payment of the "tribute charge" presented many complications. Grants amounting in all to £209,085 were voted by Parliament during the first five years, and afterwards sums varying from £10,000 to £87,000 were voted each year in aid of the Cyprus revenues, although there were three years when no grant was found necessary as bountiful harvests yielded revenue sufficient to meet all charges, including the "tribute." \* The system by which deficits were thus made good by the Imperial Parliament involved, however, serious disadvantages. To begin with, as has been explained elsewhere, it was anomalous that the island should be placed in a position which tempted the inhabitants to clamour at the same time for large expenditure and reduction in taxation, in the knowledge that the Imperial Government would be obliged to make good any defect. Further, it involved a tiresome duplication of correspondence and division of responsibility, for all the estimates had to be submitted first to the Imperial Treasury by the Colonial Office and to receive the sanction of the former. The system was, however, allowed to continue until 1907, when an annual grant of £50,000 was provisionally decided upon, and three years later this provisional arrangement was made permanent, and the finances of the island were freed from Treasury control. A condition was, however, attached to the concession made regarding the permanent grant-in-aid, which was that a sum of £90,000 should be set aside as a reserve fund to meet any shortage of revenue which might occur in consequence of a succession of bad

\* The years were 1892-3, 1893-4, and 1904-5.

harvests. This sum has since been saved and invested, the interest on the investment accruing to the island revenue. No doubt the recollection of the drought in 1888 and consequent distress influenced the Imperial Government in making this condition, but the state of the island finances now renders this reserve unnecessary and the locking up of so large a sum, which might be of great use for reproductive expenditure, only hinders and delays progress. The condition should be cancelled and the money released and added to the surplus funds available for expenditure.

It has been explained that the taxes found in existence when the island was taken over from the Turks were maintained subject to certain modifications and reductions. Only one new tax was instituted, and this was not paid into general revenue, but formed a separate fund devoted to a special purpose—the destruction of locusts. Under the Turkish régime every male inhabitant between the ages of eighteen and sixty was required to bring in each year a bushel of locust eggs, and was also obliged to furnish labour, free of charge, on the work of destroying live locusts. Shortly after the British occupation this obligation was cancelled, and a law was passed imposing a special tax, the proceeds of which were to be formed into a fund for the destruction of locusts. The tax may be described as practically an extra charge of one per cent. on the annual value of titheable produce, property, income, and trade profits; a charge of about  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  is also made on every sheep and goat. The tax produces nearly £9,000 per annum, and by its means the debt incurred by the initial campaign was paid off by the year 1889, by which time the expenditure on the annual campaign had been reduced to about £3,000 per annum. Thus the fund created by this tax soon reached a figure in excess of its requirements for locust destruction, and a desire immediately arose to apply it to other purposes. The elected members of Council urged the establishment of an Agricultural Bank, to be financed from the Locust Fund, but after long discussion the proposal fell through, and sub-

sequently, in 1897, a law was passed establishing a Public Loan Fund administered by a Board of Loan Commissioners, empowered to make use of the surplus Locust Funds for granting loans on approved securities. Meanwhile, in 1895, a grant from the Fund had been made to the town of Limassol for securing the town against inundation by floods. In 1898 the Fund was still further diverted from its proper use by the passing of a law whereby the interest on a loan made to Cyprus under the Colonial Loans Act for the construction of a harbour at Famagusta and a railway from that port to the capital was secured by pledging the Locust Fund up to an annual maximum of £2,500. Neither harbour nor railway when constructed succeeded in paying by their receipts the interest on the capital expenditure involved, so that a large annual disbursement has been necessary ever since from the Locust Fund.

Recent improvements in the method of locust destruction have reduced the cost to a small figure, and the continuance of this special tax is an anomaly. Efforts to amend or repeal the law have been met by the Imperial Government with the reply that before sanction can be given to the abolition of the locust tax an equivalent sum must be provided for by some other means of taxation. Elected members cannot agree upon the form which such taxation should take, and the anomaly continues. A revision of the Customs Tariff has been proposed, and a Commission was appointed in 1913 to draft a new tariff, but so far nothing has come of it. The tax should certainly be abolished, locust destruction being handed over to the Agricultural Department and its cost made a charge against the agricultural vote, whilst the interest on the Harbour and Railway Loans should be made a charge against the general revenue, taxation being if necessary increased to meet it, either by a revision of the Customs Tariff, an increase in the Property Tax, or by some other means.

In 1881, when the affairs of Cyprus were transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, an official of the latter Department was, as has been recorded elsewhere, sent to Cyprus

to confer with the High Commissioner as to the finances and administration of the island. This official made various proposals, the majority of which have since been carried out. At that time, however, the affairs of the island were in a very different state to that now existing. The peasantry had in Turkish times been taxed up to the last limit, and owing to the condition of trade and agriculture the revenue was small. The Turks, as has been said, taxed almost everything, and "though the general bearing of the facts then available was that the peasantry were able to support life fairly well, there was little or no taxable margin on their incomes, and if their contributions were raised, most of them would be driven into the hands of the money-lenders beyond the hope of extrication, and the poorer villages would be actually ruined." \* It was contemplated that by exercising every economy and limiting the expenditure on public works to £13,000 a year, the annual expenditure of the island might be maintained at a figure of about £112,000—making, with the "tribute," a total of £205,000. The existing taxes were calculated to yield about £176,000 per annum and could not be increased, so that there remained a deficit of about £30,000 per annum to be met from Imperial Funds. This, in fact, is about the average amount of the grant annually voted by Parliament in aid of Cyprus revenues until 1907, when it was increased permanently to £50,000. If this is deducted from the "tribute" it leaves a sum of over £60,000 which the Cyprus revenues have been obliged to bear annually towards the payment to the Porte due under the Convention.

During the last twenty or thirty years the island has advanced enormously in prosperity, and its financial position is very different from what it was during the early days of the British administration. The revenue realized during the year 1915-16, exclusive of the grant-in-aid, is shown in the published estimates to have been no less than £363,692, and the expenditure, exclusive of the Turkish "debt charge"

\* Mr. Fairfield's Report, 1882.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3661.

and the sums expended from surplus balances, to have been £275,484. Adding to these figures the "debt charge" and the Imperial grant-in-aid, we find that the total revenue amounted to £413,692, and the total expenditure to £368,283, leaving a surplus for the year of £45,409.

The fixed annual grant-in-aid has been an inestimable boon to Cyprus, and a careful husbanding of the finances of the island, together with increased prosperity, has resulted in a succession of handsome surpluses, which have been utilized in carrying out a number of improvements. About five years ago the system was adopted of introducing into the Legislative Council a separate Appropriation Bill for the surplus balances. The ordinary recurrent expenditure on administration was at the same time reduced to the smallest possible figure, and any surplus of revenue over expenditure was treated as a kind of Development Fund to be used as far as possible for public works of a reproductive nature and projects directly furthering the progress of the island. With these surplus funds an extension of the Government railway has been made, a lighthouse erected, a quay wall constructed at Limassol, roads improved to fit them for motor traffic, bridges built, water supplies improved, agricultural and re-afforestation schemes financed, stock purchased for the Government Stock Farm, and a campaign against malaria carried out on lines suggested by Sir Ronald Ross, who visited Cyprus in 1913 to report on the prevalence of the disease and the best means for its prevention. The great benefit of this surplus fund is that projects of this description can be carried out at times when a good harvest and general prosperity bring in a large revenue, and can be discontinued or omitted whenever the revenue falls, the general administrative expenditure of the island being kept down to a figure which can be met without difficulty even in a bad year. Moreover, by the introduction into Council of a separate Bill for the appropriation of surplus funds, the Elected Members are placed in the position of exercising a real and tangible control over their expenditure, for they can vote

against any item of which they disapprove without embarrassing Government, since the deletion of such an item from the Bill would merely result in the particular project not being carried out, and would be an entirely different thing from the reduction of one of the items in the main Appropriation Bill, which almost inevitably dislocates the administrative machinery.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

**D**URING the later years of the Turkish administration the Governor was assisted by a Council on which various sections of the population were represented. The Council met as often as it was summoned by the Governor, and always once a week; its decisions were embodied in documents called *masbutas*, which were signed by all the members present. To a good Governor the Council never proved a hindrance; to a bad one it was an impediment to be overcome; but it was no protection against the evils of an inactive administration. It was useful in giving the Governor, invariably a stranger to the island, the benefit of local advice, and in obliging him to act in harmony with the representatives of the country.

When the administration of the island was taken over by Great Britain and a High Commissioner appointed, a somewhat similar procedure was followed, although the Council appointed to advise Sir Garnet Wolseley was actually less representative than that which had existed under the Turkish *régime*. An Order by Her Majesty in Council dated September 14, 1878, established a Legislative Council consisting of the High Commissioner and not less than four or more than eight other public officers and persons in the island, to be nominated under Her Majesty's sign-manual, one-half being officials and the remainder non-officials, holding their seats for two years. The High Commissioner was empowered with the advice of the Council to make "such laws as might from time to time be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of the island." \* Under the Turks the Governor's

\* Correspondence respecting the Island of Cyprus.—Parliamentary Paper C. 2229.

Council consisted of eight members beside himself, of whom at least five, and sometimes six or seven, were natives of the island. The first Council appointed on the British occupation consisted of seven members, four of whom were British officials and the remaining three non-official members of the community.

This nominated Legislative Council was, however, merely temporary and provisional, and in 1882 an announcement was made that Her Majesty's Government intended to establish a Constitution under which the people of Cyprus should take part, through their representatives, in the conduct of the affairs of the island. It was proposed that the Legislative Council should in future consist of twelve elected and six official members, the former being divided between the Christian and Moslem sections of the community in proportion to their numbers as shown in the latest census, that is to say, nine Christian and three Moslem representatives elected by the Christian and Moslem voters respectively. In the despatch by Lord Kimberley announcing this decision the following significant words were used :—

"As the island of Cyprus is not part of the Queen's possessions, but is administered by Her Majesty under a Treaty with the Sultan, which is terminable in certain events, it is impossible for the Queen to finally surrender any part of the powers and responsibilities of Government. For this and other reasons power will be reserved to Her Majesty to amend or revoke the Instrument creating the Constitution if she thinks fit."\*

The announcement was hailed with delight by the Christian section of the population, and the Archbishop despatched the following telegram to the Colonial Office on March 23, 1882 :  
*"Au nom population Grecque Chypriote je prie votre Excellence soumettre aux pieds du trône de sa Majesté sa profonde reconnaissance pour réalisation reformes sollicitées justifiant notre confiance"*

\* Despatch from Earl Kimberley to Sir R. Biddulph, March 10, 1882.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3211.

*sans bornes aux sentiments justes et liberaux du Gouvernement Anglais.*" The Moslem community, however, received the announcement with very different feelings, and their leaders despatched three days later an indignant telegram to the Secretary of State, declaring that their "ancient and present privileges would be trodden under foot" by the proposed arrangement, and concluding, "we absolutely object to same, and beg to inform your Lordship that under the circumstances shall not depute representation to said Council, and shall not abstain in meantime from persistent application to all necessary for protection of our rights." \* The Moslem community contended that their members in the Council should be equal in number to the Christian members, and they followed up their telegram by a long Memorial to Lord Kimberley setting forth the grounds for their contention.† "Our forefathers," they wrote, "occupied this island more than three hundred years ago conformably with the established rules respected by all nations, leavening and dyeing its soil with their own blood and sacrificing their lives even for a handful of its earth. Ever since that time we have been the ruling element; and has it ever been equitably proved that we have on any occasion exercised tyranny or oppression towards our Christian compatriots?"

\* Affairs of Cyprus.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3384.

† Ibid.

It is interesting to note that advocates of the system of Proportional Representation have quoted with approval the Cyprus Constitution. Thus the late Earl Grey in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, wrote as follows: "At the end of 1882 it was decided to give Cyprus representative institutions. A legislative council was created in which there were twelve members to be elected by the people. But the census taken in 1881 revealed the fact that one-quarter of the people were Mahomedan and three-quarters non-Mahomedan. Now, wishing to secure fair representation, what did the Government do? Did they divide the island into twelve districts each returning one member? No; they knew that such a course would be grossly unfair to the Mahomedans, who, although they were one-quarter of the whole, would be, of course, out-voted in every constituency, and practically disfranchized. So the Government decided that three of the members should be elected by the Mahomedan and nine by the non-Mahomedan inhabitants. . . . Now it is difficult to understand why, if it is desirable to secure the general representation of the people of Cyprus, it should not be equally desirable to obtain the general representation of the people of the United Kingdom." It should be gratifying to the Cypriot to find his Constitution cited by a prominent Englishman as a model which the United Kingdom would do well to follow!

We are able to substantiate by many proofs that during the long period in which we had the opportunity we have constantly endeavoured to support goodwill and justice, holding all classes on an equal footing in our proceedings without distinction of creed or faith, and to shield and protect the sufferers from wrong. While at the time of the change of the administration of the island we knew we were losing a Government of our own faith we willingly submitted to Her Britannic Majesty's rule, and took refuge under the equitableness and graciousness of Her Government, so well known to the whole world, without paying any attention and without attaching the least importance to the constant incitement and instigations of our Christian compatriots. We have never raised complaints against the Government under any pretext whatever, but have always been the first to accept and comply with all the orders and inhibitions, whether of a heavy or light nature, made by the Government, and have zealously applied ourselves to the speedy observance and carrying out of the same ; and this we believe is a fact well known to the central authorities. Nevertheless, whilst we expected to be publicly rewarded for our zealous services in the past, and especially in consideration of our official rights above referred to, it is proposed that the Greek community whose thoughts and intentions of oppressing and vexing us are made manifest under all circumstances, and in every one of their acts, who have constantly made all sorts of complaints (against the Government), and whose endless cries of ' We want the Hellenic Government for our rulers,' are still echoing from the heights of heaven, should all at once be granted a privilege which they have never possessed in the past, and which they can claim on no ground of present grievance. Our Christian compatriots would have hardly expected to acquire the proposed privilege even after the lapse of a thousand years had, God forbid, the island been ceded to the Hellenic Government. Such being the case, can this indulgence be considered justifiable or approved by the world ?

“The Legislative Council, which is hereafter the basis of the administration of the island, will ultimately become a prelude to the independence which is the motto constantly repeated by our Christian compatriots, and on which their designs and acts are concentrated. According to our notion every community satisfied with what it is entitled to and cherishing no ill-will or hostility (against others) should always feel happy under the protection of any equitable Government, and should abstain from offensive conduct. . . . Even the Moslem inhabitants of Her Majesty’s Indian possessions, who constitute forty to fifty millions of the population, do not enjoy a similar franchise. The vast region of Anatolia is full of Mahomedans, and its Christian inhabitants constitute so small a minority as to admit of no comparison, but nevertheless they are, up to the present, allowed an equal representation.

“Nicosia, the most advanced and richest town of the island, contains a majority of Mahomedans over Christians. In fact, there are innumerable arguments to be advanced in our favour, but we would consider it a want of proper respect on our part to attempt to dictate to your Lordship, and we therefore close our present memorial, as one of the representations alluded to in our telegram, with the following :—

“We know perfectly well that Her Britannic Majesty’s Government make laws according to the capacity and requirements of every place, and we once more desire to repeat that the project of proportional representation in the Legislative Council is in every respect detrimental to our rights and destructive to the safety we now enjoy. We consequently take the liberty to solicit your Lordship to be pleased to amend according to the principle respected *ab antiquo* the franchise in question, which (in its proposed form) is incompatible with local requirements, and which, if enforced, will absolutely compel us all to leave the island for some other place.

“We shall anxiously await your Lordship’s reply, as we must prepare to carry out our painful resolution of leaving the island as soon as possible, should we be obliged to do so.”

Her Majesty's Government was not prepared, however, to accede to the representations of the Moslem community, or to modify the proposals previously made, and on November 30, 1882, an Order was made by Her Majesty's Council cancelling the Order of September 14, 1878, and establishing a Constitution on the lines already explained. The Constitution, with certain insignificant modifications subsequently made, has remained in force ever since, and is briefly as follows :—

There is a Legislative Council consisting of the High Commissioner and eighteen members, of whom twelve are elective and six non-elective. The latter are " the persons for the time being discharging the duties of such public offices in Cyprus as shall from time to time be designated by any instructions under Her Majesty's sign-manual and signet (who shall be styled *ex-officio* members)\* and such other persons holding for the time being public offices in Cyprus as may from time to time be appointed by Her Majesty's sign-manual and signet, through one of Her Principal Secretaries of State." Of the twelve elective members, three are elected by the Mahomedan and nine by the non-Mahomedan voters. For purposes of election the island is divided into three areas, each returning four members, one elected by the Mahomedan and three by the non-Mahomedan voters.

Every male person, being either an Ottoman or British subject, is entitled to be registered as a voter and to vote at the election of members for his district, provided that he has resided in the island not less than five years, has attained the age of twenty-one years, and is a payer of any class of the taxes called *Verghi* (property tax), and has on or before January 13th paid all *Verghi* payable by him up to that date. Every person registered as a voter is eligible as a member of the Council for his district, with the exception of judges of any court in the

\* Royal Instructions designate the Chief Secretary to the Government, the King's Advocate, and the Treasurer, as the three *ex-officio* members, and the same three officials are usually appointed members of the Executive Council.

island, public contractors, uncertificated bankrupts, and persons convicted of any offence and sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than six months.

It is provided that a session shall be held once at least in each year, the High Commissioner appointing by proclamation the place and time of holding each session. The High Commissioner is empowered to prorogue or dissolve the Council by proclamation whenever he thinks fit, and, unless the Council be sooner dissolved, the elective members hold their seats until the expiration of five years from the date of return of the first writs at the last preceding general election ; at the expiration of such five years it is provided that the High Commissioner shall dissolve the Council. It is further provided that " a general election shall be held within two months after a dissolution, and in case of a vacancy by death, resignation, or otherwise, an election shall be held as soon as possible after the vacancy occurs." No vote, resolution, or law for the appropriation of any part of the public revenue or for the imposition of any tax or import may be proposed except by the High Commissioner or by his direction ; but with this exception any member is at liberty to propose any question for debate in the Council, and such questions, if seconded by any other member, must be debated and disposed of according to the standing Rules and Orders. Elective members have also the right to put questions to the non-elective members on matters of public concern affecting the administration of their several departments. Either the English, Greek, or Turkish language may be used in the debates of the Council, but in taking down the Minutes, and in Bills laid before the Council, the English language must be used, translations in Greek and Turkish being appended to the Bills and Minutes when printed for the use of Members. All questions proposed for debate are decided by the majority of votes ; in case of an equality of votes the High Commissioner has a casting vote, and in his absence the non-elective member presiding has a casting vote in addition to his original vote.

Whilst the power of legislation is thus entrusted to the High Commissioner, who may "with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council make all such laws as may from time to time be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of the island," full authority is "reserved to His Majesty, through one of His Principal Secretaries of State, to disallow any such laws in whole or part, and to make or establish from time to time, with the advice of His Privy Council, all such laws as may appear to him necessary for the peace, order, and good government of the island." Any law made by the Legislative Council and thus disallowed ceases to be of any force or effect so soon as its disallowance is notified by proclamation. The High Commissioner, on a law being presented to him for his assent, may either declare that he assents to it, or that he refuses his assent, or that he reserves it for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure; and no law can take effect until it has been assented to by the High Commissioner in the name of His Majesty and on his behalf, and been signed by him in token of such assent. The High Commissioner may not assent to any law by which any of the taxes, imports, or duties are altered or discontinued, unless His Majesty's approval has been previously signified.

Finally, certain sums are permanently charged on the Consolidated Revenue of the island, and are "payable to His Majesty every year until it may be otherwise ordered by His Majesty with the advice of His Privy Council." These charges are :

- (1) The amount of "tribute" payable to Turkey.
- (2) The salary of the High Commissioner and a sum for the expenses of his establishment.
- (3) The salaries of the six official members of Council.
- (4) The salaries of the judges and the necessary expenses of the law courts.

In addition to the Legislative Council which thus meets once a year (or oftener) in session in order to make laws for "the

peace, order, and good government of the island," including, of course, the annual Appropriation Law, without which no disbursement from public funds can take place, the High Commissioner is assisted by an Executive Council consisting of Government officials not exceeding four in number, appointed by him in His Majesty's name under the Public Seal. The High Commissioner may also appoint in similar manner not more than three "additional members," who may be "any fit persons residing in the island"; the latter may or may not be summoned to meetings of the Executive Council.

The Executive Council cannot proceed to the despatch of business unless summoned by the High Commissioner, or unless at least two members exclusive of the High Commissioner or of the member presiding be present. It is purely of an advisory character, for the High Commissioner is alone entitled to submit questions to it for advice and decision, and is expressly empowered to act in opposition to the advice given by the members should he deem it right to do so; but in every such case he must report the matter fully to His Majesty through the Secretary of State at the first convenient opportunity, with the grounds and reasons for his action. Exact Minutes of the proceedings of the Council have to be kept, and a copy forwarded at the close of each half year to the Secretary of State. When a sentence of death is passed by any court in the island, a report by the presiding judge is sent to the High Commissioner, who refers it for consideration to the Executive Council; and the High Commissioner may not pardon or reprieve any such offence unless after receiving the advice of the Executive Council it appears to him expedient to do so. He is expressly directed, however, in all such cases to decide according to his own deliberate judgment, whether the members of the Executive Council concur or not.

Many laws contain provisions which empower "the High Commissioner in Council" to make regulations or orders, and in such cases it is necessary that the matter shall be discussed in Executive Council, and an "Order in Council" be made and

published. Otherwise the High Commissioner is free to decide the matter on which he will consult his Executive Council, being guided only by the following instructions :

“ In the execution of the powers and authorities committed to the High Commissioner . . . he shall in all cases consult with the Executive Council, excepting only in cases which may be of such a nature that in his judgment would sustain material prejudice by consulting the Council thereupon, or when matters to be decided shall be too unimportant to require their advice, or too urgent to admit of their advice being given by the time within which it may be necessary for him to act in respect of any such matters.”

It is obvious that the views taken as to the importance or unimportance of questions which arise for decision will vary considerably in accordance with the personality of the High Commissioner for the time being, and the clause has been interpreted very differently at different times, and in all probability was loosely drafted in order to give a wide latitude to the official charged with the responsibility of carrying out the administration of the island.

Having thus sketched the Constitution of the island, which has been, with insignificant changes, in force since 1882, it becomes necessary to examine its practical working. With the Executive Council it is unnecessary to deal : its constitution and the rules governing its proceedings are similar to those of many British Colonies, and the only remark which need be made in passing is that the appointment of additional members from amongst the non-official population affords the High Commissioner an admirable opportunity of obtaining the advice of the non-official element. The proceedings of the Council are confidential ; hence there is no incentive to play to the gallery, and the additional members are free to express themselves in a manner which they might find extremely difficult in the Legislative Council, where their speeches are reported and published in the local papers. The provision empowering the High Commissioner to summon additional

members to the meetings of the Executive Council has been made use of to a very varying degree by different High Commissioners. Some, during their five or six years' tenure of office, have rarely summoned the additional members—possibly only once or twice a year—and then only to discuss some comparatively unimportant matter. Other High Commissioners have boldly "called to their Councils" the additional members, and referred to them not only questions relating to education, agriculture, municipal and village administration, etc., but matters of finance, racial questions, and other grave matters of policy. It is indeed a matter for consideration whether a frequent discussion of such matters with the additional members of the Executive Council does not constitute the best method of enabling the High Commissioner to keep in touch with the people, and of giving the latter's representatives a share in the government of the island. It is true that in the Executive Council they can only advise and cannot otherwise exert any direct influence in the conduct of affairs; but it is precisely in this respect that they can be of the best service to the island, and of most assistance to those entrusted with the responsibility for the welfare of its inhabitants.

It will have been observed that in the Constitution of the Legislative Council the elected members outnumber the non-elective or official members by two to one. This arrangement produces a very curious situation, for the Executive Government can only count on six votes in a Council of eighteen members, and may therefore be out-voted at any time. In practically every one of the British Crown Colonies the Constitution provides for an official majority, for the obvious reason that there can be no alternative government, and the defeat of an important Government measure in the Council would result merely in a deadlock. The only explanation of the situation created by the Cyprus Constitution would appear to be that when the Constitution was passed consideration was given to the fact that the three Turkish members were unlikely ever to combine with the nine Greek members

to defeat the local Government on any really important issue, and that their votes would be cast with those of the six official members and produce an equality of votes with those of the nine Greek members, the casting vote of the High Commissioner or presiding official deciding the issue. That this has proved to be the case is shown by the fact that the local Government has been able to carry on its functions for thirty-five years ; but the obstacles which it has had to surmount have at times been formidable, and once at least a complete deadlock has only been overcome by the exercise of the power reserved to His Majesty in Council to legislate over the heads of the Cyprus Legislative Council.

Whether it is wise to rely on the permanent hostility between two sections of the population to carry into effect the policy of the Government is a matter of opinion. It has been urged with some show of justice and considerable force that such a balancing of votes must tend to keep alive the racial animosity that naturally exists in an island inhabited by a mixed Christian and Moslem population ; and that it is beneath the dignity of a Government to rely on the support of a small minority to pass such measures as it may think necessary for the " peace, order, and good government " of the people entrusted to its care.

The situation created has always been a cause of considerable dissatisfaction amongst the Greek elected members, who have from time to time been loud in their denunciation of what they call " stifling the voice of the majority of the inhabitants." In the year 1888, six years after the grant of the Constitution, as has already been recorded, the Council by a majority of votes reduced some of the figures in the Appropriation Bill providing for the expenditure of the year, and it was necessary for His Majesty to pass Imperial Orders in Council to give legislative sanction for the necessary expenditure. In 1911 the Council made reductions in certain items of the Appropriation Bill as presented to them, basing their action on what they considered the unnecessarily high salaries

paid to certain British officials and the high percentage of British officials employed on the Government railway. The reductions thus made would have rendered administration impracticable: payments were therefore made as usual, and the excess thereby caused was embodied in a Supplementary Appropriation Bill presented to the Council the following year, which would certainly have been opposed by the Greek deputies had they not, previous to its introduction, elected to resign their seats in a body to mark their disapproval of the attitude adopted towards certain representations made by them to the Secretary of State, leaving the official and Turkish members to pass such legislative measures as they thought fit.\* The right of Her Majesty to legislate by Order in Council was exercised in 1888, because, in Lord Knutsford's words, "the threatened destruction of the efficiency of the Chief Secretary's Office, the threatened release of the *Zaptiehs* from the control of their English officers, and the threatened breaking of faith with a number of public servants, appear to me to constitute such a special emergency as was contemplated by Lord Kimberley"; and the Order supplemented the Appropriation law of the year, "so as to make up the total under each head to the amount which may be necessary in order to provide the sums requisite to pay all the salaries and allowances to which the public faith is pledged, or which cannot be omitted without detriment to the public service." Lord Knutsford concluded his despatch announcing this decision with the following words:—

"With respect to the future, I will only say at present that Her Majesty's Government could not regard with satisfaction a renewal, year after year, of the mode of providing the expenditure of the island, which is to be adopted this year, that is, the passing by the Legislature of a law containing an inadequate provision, which is afterwards supplemented by an Order

\* On this occasion one of the Greek deputies remarked excitedly, as he left the Council Chamber, "Europe shall ring with this to-morrow!" It is characteristic of the Greek members that they consider the proceedings of the Council to be of European interest and importance.

made by Her Majesty in Council in the exercise of Her reserved powers. If the Legislature were to display anew in coming years the same disposition as in the present case, it would become necessary for Her Majesty's Government to reconsider the whole question of the Constitution of Cyprus. But I am loth to believe that the same line of action will be taken on future occasions. I am confident that the Cypriot people and their elected representatives value the privileges which they enjoy, and I am perfectly willing to attribute to inexperience and want of adequate consideration whatever I have had to criticize as amiss in their recent proceedings. I do not yield to them in anxiety for economy in the public expenditure, and I hope that, gradually, measures of economy may be devised, which, without unjustly sacrificing individuals or public interests, will bring about much the same results as would have been attained had the action of the Council during the recent session taken immediate effect."

The agitation against the Constitution by the Greek element (the Turks have always since their first protest been warm supporters of it) has at various times assumed different forms, but two demands are distinguishable, both having the same object, *viz.*, to hand over legislative power in the island to the Greek elected members of Council. The first and most ambitious demand was embodied in the Memorandum presented by the Greek members to Mr. Churchill when he visited the island in 1907. It ran as follows :

" We therefore beg to suggest :

" (1) That the Legislative Council henceforth consist exclusively of elected members in proportion to the population of the two predominant races of the island, the Government being represented by the members of the Executive Council (*i.e.* Chief Secretary, King's Advocate, and Receiver General) who should, however, have no vote.

" (2) That the Legislative Council may be accorded full liberty in the management generally of the interests of the island—the restrictions embodied in the Order in Council of

the 6th of July, 1907, Clause 33, being removed—the Crown reserving to itself the power of disallowance.”

Such a preposterous claim, by which the whole power of legislation would have been handed over to a non-official electorate, the Executive Government being reduced to a mere machine for carrying out such irresponsible mandates, was easily dealt with, and Mr. Churchill replied as follows :

“ In reviewing the proceedings of the Legislative Council, it does not appear to me that the wishes of the representatives of the people have suffered from any insufficiency of expression, or from any failure to shape or control legislation. I have carefully examined and considered the Constitution of the Government, and I fail to discern at present any way by which the influence and power of the Greek elected members could be increased which would not in fact involve a surrender of sovereignty and an inability, not only on the part of the British Government, but also on that of the Moslem minority, to exercise any further influence on the course of affairs. It may be that in the course of time such a way may be discovered ; and though I do not see it now, I will not fail to think about it.”

A claim which was less contrary to common sense was subsequently put forward by the Greek elected members, who urged that the Greek element which, according to the 1911 census, provided four-fifths of the population,\* was inadequately represented in proportion to the Moslem element by being allowed only nine members, whilst the Moslems had three, and they claimed that their number should be increased to at least twelve. To make such a concession would of course have had the same result as had been involved in the previous claim, *viz.*, to give the Greek members a permanent majority in the Council over both the elective and Moslem members, and to reduce the local executive to a cipher. The

\* Out of a total population of 273,964, the 1911 census gave 216,310 as Greek speaking and 55,213 as Turkish, or a percentage of 79 and 20 respectively. At the 1881 census the figures were 186,173, 160,541 and 46,449 respectively.

Secretary of State was, however, prepared to meet the arguments of the Memorialists by increasing the Greek members from nine to eleven, making the proviso that the official members should at the same time be augmented by a similar number, thus preserving the balance ; but the offer was unanimously rejected by the Greek members, who thereby disclosed the real object of their move. The aim of the Greek elected members has undoubtedly been to obtain control of the finances of the island ; how they would exercise this control has been abundantly shown by their attitude in Council towards the "tribute" and by the manner in which they have voted for reductions in the amounts allocated to certain Departments, explaining that these economies were to be obtained by reducing the salaries or dispensing with the services of many of the British officials. Their economies have had in fact a barely disguised political basis, namely, the elimination from the administration of the English officials and their replacement by Cypriots. One of the Greek deputies coined some years ago the happy phrase "blue-blooded Englishmen" to designate the British officials, and this absurd appellation has since been used again and again in debate by Greek members when fulminating against the presence in the administration of British officials, who were represented as "highly-paid" and "expensive luxuries," though Cyprus salaries are notoriously small. These endeavours to eliminate British officials by reducing their salaries have always been hotly opposed by the Turkish members, who are quite alive to the political consequences involved, and are determined to contest to the last any tendency towards Greek domination.

To a superficial observer the contention of the Greek members that the passing of the annual Budget by the Council is a farce, since their votes are defeated by the official *bloc* supported by the Turkish members, may appear at first sight to have some justification. But closer consideration will show that this is a mistaken view of the situation. The Estimates are prepared annually by the local executive and sent

home to the Colonial Office ; they are there subjected to a careful and minute scrutiny and are returned, either approved *in toto*, or, after correspondence, with orders as to reductions or alterations. When finally approved by the Secretary of State they are printed and laid before the Council with the Appropriation Bill, and the latter is then introduced, and if it passes its first and second readings, is referred to a Committee of the whole Council, in which every item is discussed, and the total for each Department put to the vote. The elected members thus have ample opportunity for discussing and recording their opinions on every item proposed for expenditure, and although it is true that the Executive Government resists, and is bound to resist, any attempt to alter the figures which it lays before the Council, the view is clearly erroneous that the presentation before the latter of the annual Appropriation Bill is a mere farce.

It is no doubt galling for a party commanding half the votes in the Council to feel themselves in practice unable to alter a single figure in the annual Estimates. They are incensed at the sight of six overworked officials sitting in Council immersed in their papers, to all appearances indifferent to the debate raging around them, but voting together in accordance with Government policy and usually supported by the Turkish minority. But, as was recently stated in a discussion on financial control in the House of Commons, "the whole difficulty is to divide the control of financial policy pure and simple from policy."\* The fact is that it cannot be divided, and it is idle for those who wish to control expenditure to say that they do not wish to control policy. Finance is nothing but the expression of policy. The fullest opportunities for criticizing the financial and other measures of the Government are accorded to all the elected members, and their wishes are given every consideration. But they clearly cannot be placed in a position which would enable them to force the Executive to carry on its administration with funds which the latter

\* Mr. Bonar Law, House of Commons, July 6, 1917.

considers insufficient for its purpose, and as they cannot eject it from office, there must be some means by which the Executive can in the last resort carry its measures through in the face of any opposition which may be brought to bear by the elected members. An Imperial Order in Council provides the means, but to invoke the aid of His Majesty and His Privy Council to enable the High Commissioner of Cyprus to utilize funds refused by the Legislative Council is to use a very large steam hammer to crack a very small nut. There seems, in fact, something wrong with an arrangement by which the Executive Government of a small Mediterranean island is obliged to submit its financial and other legislative measures to a Council containing a two-to-one majority of elected members, a large proportion of whom are actively and permanently hostile to the Executive.

That the existing arrangement has worked for thirty-five years proves that it is workable and no more. Many an impoverished or incompetent manufacturer carries on his business with defective machinery, but few would be found to argue that the business would not be carried on more efficiently and successfully if the defects were remedied and the machinery repaired or replaced by better. The task of the local officials in carrying their measures—particularly the annual Budget—through the Council has been a difficult one, and only a sense of humour has rescued them on occasions from sheer despair. Many of the scenes enacted in the Cyprus Chamber would have afforded excellent material for a Gilbert and Sullivan opera; but is it sound policy to set such a bark afloat as sailed from Downing Street in 1882, obliged as best it could to weather the storms that have from time to time assailed it ever since? It should be obvious that where only one government is possible, where in fact there is representative and not responsible government, the Executive must have the power inherent in it of carrying its measures into execution. The conclusion can hardly be avoided that it would have been better to have given Cyprus from the outset a Constitution similar to that

enjoyed by most Crown Colonies, where the local Government is in a permanent majority and the elected members of the Legislative Chamber are recognized as being in an advisory and not an executive position.

A Legislative Council consisting of eight members, four being officials and the remainder elected, three by the Christian and one by the Moslem voters, would, with the Chairman's casting vote, secure an official majority and yet fulfil the principle of allowing "the people of Cyprus to take part, through their representatives, in the conduct of the affairs of the island."\* It must be remembered that in Cyprus three languages are officially recognized, and every speech in the Council is necessarily translated into two languages as it is delivered. This renders the debates and proceedings of the Council exceedingly tedious, and consumes a vast amount of time in mere translation. A Council consisting of eight members would transact business more expeditiously than one consisting as at present of eighteen, and there is no reason why it should prove any less efficient or less useful as the channel by which the people are enabled to take part in the affairs of the island. A reactionary policy in Cyprus is far from being advocated, but the existing Constitution clearly possesses grave defects, and it should not be beyond the powers of the Colonial Office to devise some means by which these defects could be remedied without taking from the people any of the rights and privileges which they now enjoy of "electing representatives to assist in the conduct of the affairs of the island."

\* Or if consideration were given to the contention of the Greek community that the representatives should be in proportion to the numbers disclosed by the 1911 census, the Greeks might be given four members, the official members being reduced to five instead of four.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

WHEN Cyprus passed under British administration there was in existence in each *Kaza* or district a court of law, called a "Daavi" Court, presided over by a Cadi, with four members, of whom two were Moslems and two Christians. The jurisdiction of these courts was limited to 5,000 piastres (about £50) in civil cases, and three months' imprisonment in criminal cases: but sentence in criminal cases could not be carried out until it had been approved by the *Kaimaikam* (Governor) of the *Kaza*. In addition to these District Courts there was at the capital a court composed of a Cadi and six members, half of whom were Moslems and the remainder Christians, which acted as a court of appeal in civil cases, and in criminal cases dealt with those in which punishment exceeded three years' imprisonment; whilst at the port of Larnaca there was a Commercial Court, to deal with commercial cases. All these courts administered the Ottoman law, as contained in the *Destur*, or authorized edition, an excellent system of law founded on the "Code Napoléon."

There were in addition a number of religious courts called Mekhemé-i-Shéri, administering Islamic laws for Moslems only, in cases of marriage, divorce, probate, and such matters.

One of the first steps taken by the new administration was to enact, in 1879, an Ordinance providing for the administration of criminal and civil justice by setting up a High Court of Justice consisting of the High Commissioner, a Judicial Commissioner, and Deputy Commissioners, having "jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, over all persons and all cases other than such as would have been under the sole jurisdiction and

authority of the Ottoman Courts had the Cyprus Convention not been made." \* The law administered by this court was the Statute Law of England, but the *Daavi* Courts were maintained for the time being for dealing with ordinary cases under the Ottoman law, where Ottoman subjects only were concerned. These courts, however, were unsatisfactory and their composition peculiar; with the exception of the presiding Cadis they consisted of persons elected by the people, receiving a most inadequate salary; and though some of them had sufficient education and energy to study the laws which they were invited to administer, these formed the exception rather than the rule. As regards the Cadis themselves, their education had been formed on the lines of Moslem religious law, and the study of the Koran and of laws based upon it did not fit them to administer efficiently laws based upon the traditions and experiences of Western civilization. Hence the Cadis by their education and the other members by their lack of it were alike unfitted to administer the criminal and civil law of the Nizam Courts.

In 1881 it was decided to introduce a new system to supersede the temporary arrangements described. Briefly, the object aimed at was to unify in principle the courts of the island whilst maintaining a duplicate system of laws, foreign inhabitants (including British subjects) being subject to the laws of England as modified by local legislation, and Ottoman subjects, whether Cypriot or others, to Ottoman law. "The principle which I desire to see adopted," wrote Lord Kimberley, "is not to place those persons who are not Ottoman subjects under the jurisdiction of Cypriot judges, which would be impolitic if not unfair, but to extend to Ottomans what I conceive will not fail to be regarded as a boon in the present circumstances of Cyprus, namely, the services of English judges in the adjudication of their suits." † A High or Supreme Court was therefore to

\* Ordinance of 1879 for the establishment of a High Court of Justice.—Parliamentary Paper C. 2229.

† Despatch from the Earl of Kimberley to Sir R. Biddulph, July 29, 1881.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3091.

be instituted, consisting of two English judges, having jurisdiction over all cases, Ottoman or non-Ottoman, either original or on appeal; and District Courts, with limited civil and criminal jurisdiction, each of which was to be presided over by an English President, and to include for Ottoman cases two Cypriot members, one a Christian and the other a Moslem, but to consist for non-Ottoman cases of the President alone, unless the defendant or accused should elect to have the case tried by full court.

This scheme was embodied in the following year in a Cyprus Courts of Justice Order, which, with certain subsequent modifications, remains in force to-day. Besides the Supreme Court, which sits in Nicosia, there is a District Court in each district constituted as described above, with unlimited civil jurisdiction, and with criminal jurisdiction up to three years' imprisonment. Assizes are held at stated times of the year in each of the six principal towns of the island, the Assize Court consisting of one or more judges of the Supreme Court, and either two or more judges, or the President only, of the District Court. Besides this, there is a Magisterial Court in each district for the trial of criminal offences, consisting of the President of the District Court sitting alone, or of two of the Ordinary Judges sitting together without the President. For the trial of small civil cases the island is further divided into sixteen "judicial areas," to each of which a village judge is appointed, either a Moslem or a Christian,\* who has jurisdiction up to such amount as may be determined by the High Commissioner; and to some of these judges has recently been given a very limited jurisdiction in criminal cases.

The Annex to the Cyprus Convention provides that "a Mussulman Religious Tribunal (Mekhemé-i-Shéri) shall continue to exist in the island, which will take exclusive cognizance of religious matters, and of no others, concerning the Mussulman population of the island." The old Sheri Courts

\* Except in six areas, where the President of the District Court or the two ordinary judges sitting together hold full magisterial powers as village judges.

have, therefore, been maintained, and a Cadi is nominated from Constantinople and appointed by the High Commissioner as Cadi of Cyprus to preside over the Sheri Court of Nicosia, where he has an official residence. The remaining three Cadis are natives of the island, and reside in Nicosia, Larnaca, and Limassol respectively.

The system, with its six District Courts, each consisting of three judges, is an exceedingly cumbrous one for a small island with only 270,000 inhabitants, and is very costly. The legal vote at present amounts to close on £18,000 a year, and the pension charges will be a very heavy item in a few years' time. Nor can it be said that this large expenditure of money brings justice within easy reach of all the inhabitants. Although Magisterial Courts are occasionally held in places other than the six principal towns, the great majority of criminal cases are heard in the latter only, accused and witnesses being brought in from the village where the offence has been committed. This is not a serious matter in the case of important criminal offences, but it is the cause of great inconvenience and even hardship in thousands of petty cases. Villagers accused of some trifling offence, such as non-payment of a Government tax or fine amounting to a few shillings, have sometimes to be brought in two or three days' journey before the case can be heard, the witnesses being obliged to travel the same distance. The three judges of each District Court in general perform all their work at the head-quarters of the district, and are unable, except at rare intervals, and then only for short periods, to visit outlying villages and hold magisterial courts there. Thus, although there are no less than eighteen judges in the island, exclusive of the judges of the Supreme Court and the ten village judges (who with one or two exceptions hold only civil jurisdiction), criminal and magisterial cases are in general heard only in six towns throughout the island. Apart from the inconvenience which such a situation causes, the expense entailed owing to the long distances which witnesses are obliged to travel is considerable,

and the necessity for introducing some system by which petty magisterial cases could be heard in a number of centrally situated villages is evident.

The whole present judicial system needs overhauling. It may well have been the best that could be devised in 1882, when Cyprus had just been taken over from Turkey and communications were almost non-existent in the island, but it is certainly capable of considerable improvement after thirty-five years. Eighteen judges, with a total salary of over £6,000 per annum, are practically tied to six large towns, each of which, except one, is situated on the coast. It would not be difficult to arrange a system which would do away with the necessity for villagers travelling forty or fifty miles for the hearing of some trifling magisterial case. It is true that lock-ups would have to be provided in a number of villages, but police-stations are scattered all over the island, and of the various difficulties which exist not one is incapable of solution were the main principle definitely decided upon.

The decision of the Secretary of State that the Presidents of the six District Courts should be Englishmen has been the cause of many representations by Greek Members (who are almost invariably advocates) in the Legislative Council and elsewhere. It is not so much a question of prestige (or what Greek deputies are accustomed to call *amour propre*) as of salary. The Presidents of District Courts receive salaries varying from £500 to £800 a year, whereas the salaries of the Ordinary Judges (as the Cypriot members of the courts are called) vary from £250 to £275, and were a few years ago considerably smaller. A large number of educated Cypriots now study law in Athens, Paris, London, and elsewhere, and return to Cyprus after taking their degrees ; many of them have a large practice and make a considerable income from their profession. Obviously the Government cannot expect to attract the best advocates to the bench so long as the highest post to which they can aspire is an Ordinary Judgeship at a salary of £275 a year—a salary hardly sufficient to enable them to live and bring up their

families in a manner suitable to their position. Yet the difficulty is not really one of pounds, shillings, and pence, but a political one. It arises chiefly from the racial animosity existing between the two elements of which the population of Cyprus is composed. There is the further difficulty, alluded to in Lord Kimberley's despatch already quoted on page 115, that foreign inhabitants (including British subjects) have a right to be tried by District Court Presidents under the English Statute Law. This difficulty might perhaps be overcome by giving foreign inhabitants the right to be tried by the Supreme Court; but the other difficulty—also a racial one—cannot be overcome without incurring a risk which may or may not be justifiable. A somewhat similar situation has occurred in India, in many parts of which racial animosities exist which are no less bitter than those in Cyprus. Time will show how far it is politic to move in Cyprus, but riots which occurred in Limassol so recently as 1912, resulting in some bloodshed, show that the feeling between the two elements of the population is one with which it is necessary to reckon, and that caution is required if the local government is to carry out successfully its important duty of preserving law and order in the island.

One more representation by the Greek members of Council deserves notice. The constitution of the Supreme Court has frequently been challenged on the ground that two judges are insufficient, and a demand has been made that a third should be added, who should be a Cypriot. The matter was considered when the constitution of the new courts was under discussion, and Lord Kimberley then wrote: "I have decided to adhere to the view . . . that the Supreme Court shall be composed of two English judges, though, had the finances of the island permitted it, I should have preferred a Court of three judges for the purpose of appeals." \* So long as the work of the Supreme Court can be adequately performed by two judges the appointment of a third would merely cause an additional

\* Despatch from Lord Kimberley to Sir R. Biddulph, April 14, 1882.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3384.

and unnecessary expense to the taxpayer. If there is any justification for the argument sometimes put forward that it is inadvisable to constitute a Court of two judges only, on account of the possibility of a difference of opinion arising between them, there should be no difficulty in giving one of the other judges in the island a temporary commission to act as a judge of the Supreme Court, as is in fact done when one of the Supreme Court judges is absent from the island. The number of judges in Cyprus is already so large in comparison with the population that the proposal to add yet another is unlikely to receive much sympathy from those responsible for the finances of the island; nor would there seem to be any adequate reason for acceding to such a demand, although the addition to the Supreme Court of a Cypriot judge would not on other grounds appear to present any insuperable obstacle.

## CHAPTER IX.

### EDUCATION.

IT has been remarked that under the Turkish administration no expenditure was made from public funds in respect of education. But the statement requires modification, for a sum of about £400 was in fact at the time of the British occupation expended annually by the Turks from the revenues of the island in the form of grants to certain schools. These grants were, however, confined to Moslem schools, and no money whatever was provided from public funds for the encouragement of education amongst the non-Moslem population of the island. The Christian schools were maintained and supported entirely by voluntary subscriptions by the Christian inhabitants, supplemented by donations from Church funds and monasteries.

The new administration lost no time in turning its attention to the important subject of education, and Commissioners were directed to enquire into and report upon the schools and the system of education which they found in existence in their districts. These reports, received in 1879, disclosed the existence of 140 schools, of which 76 were Christian and 64 Moslem. In the latter the principal subject of instruction was the recitation of the Koran, but the Christian schools gave a far more liberal education, embracing in all cases arithmetic, geography, and modern Greek. "These reports," wrote the Director of Education in 1902, "written at the close of the first year of the occupation of Cyprus by the British . . . call up a vivid picture of the contrast between the two races: the Moslems, conservative, contented with little, but with some organization; and the Christians, eager after some new thing and alive to

the advantages of a liberal education, but hampered in their schemes by want of proper arrangements to secure the working of their schools, or even the payment of the salaries due to the schoolmasters." \*

In 1880, at the request of the High Commissioner, an inspection of a number of the schools in the island was undertaken by an English clergyman, who had been sent out to Cyprus by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at the time of the British occupation and had taken a great interest in the education of the people, and the report submitted by him was enclosed in a despatch written by Sir R. Biddulph on July 22, 1880. † In this despatch Sir R. Biddulph strongly advocated the formation of a training college in Cyprus under an English master with assistants acquainted with Turkish or Greek, and qualified to teach English. "I am of opinion," he wrote, "that a mere money grant to the existing schools will be pure waste. . . . It must be laid down as an axiom that the teaching of the English language is the first step towards advancement in the higher subjects, and I state this from no political motive, but on purely educational grounds . . . . By teaching them English we open to them the door to every species of modern learning and advancement, for we shall thus give them the means of access to every branch of human knowledge." The inspection of the existing schools led to the discovery of many grave defects, although the children were reported as intelligent and quick to learn: there was a frequent change of masters; there was no system in their appointment, which was "in many cases merely the result of a bargain between the Church Committee and the cheapest person whom they could find."

The result of these enquiries was the appointment in 1880 of an English Director of Education, and the establishment under his immediate supervision of an English school in Nicosia; and in the following year proposals were sent home

\* The system of Education in Cyprus.—Parliamentary Paper 6636, published in 1902.

† Parliamentary Paper C. 2930.

for the establishment of English schools in two other towns, the provision of English teaching in existing native schools, and the payment of Government grants-in-aid under certain conditions to approved elementary schools. These proposals were carefully considered, and the decision of the Secretary of State was conveyed to the High Commissioner in an important despatch, dated June 10, 1881.\* In this despatch Lord Kimberley, after expressing his appreciation of the efforts already made by the inhabitants, in spite of the prevailing poverty, to promote education, which he described as "highly creditable to the various communities in the island," trusted that the prospect of receiving some moderate though appreciable aid from the Government would stimulate these local efforts. "The assistance of the Government," he continued, "will, however, be rendered useless, and even injurious, if it leads the communities to discontinue wholly or partially their voluntary expenditure for the support of education. The supervision and control which the Government could exercise over the schools cannot be as effective as that which can be exercised by local bodies directly interested in, and responsible for, their efficiency." Lord Kimberley was unable to agree with the High Commissioner's views as to the prominence to be given to English teaching, the making of it the vehicle of education, or "placing it as a language for general use in any way on a level with the two ancient languages of the island." "Considering the rich and varied literature of ancient Greece," he wrote, "and the great progress which modern Greece has made in the work of education since the war of independence, it seems to me beyond a doubt that Greek, which is the language of the majority of the inhabitants of Cyprus, regarded as a vehicle of education, affords ample means, not only for an ordinary education, but for the attainment of a high degree of mental culture." †

The conclusion arrived at, therefore, was that the most practical object to which the small available resources of the

\* Parliamentary Paper C. 2930, p. 136.

† Ibid.

Government could for the present be devoted was the improvement of the country elementary schools. "I need not remind you," wrote Lord Kimberley, "of the general reasons for regarding the care of elementary education as one of the first duties of a Government, but the condition of Cyprus appears to me to present features which render this duty specially imperative. Amongst the great mass of the inhabitants there is an absence of any spirit of enterprise or industrial progress. The methods and instruments of cultivation are rude and imperfect, no permanent agricultural improvements are attempted, the means of internal communications are of the most primitive character, and the inhabitants make no effort to preserve or improve them, but in every affair look helplessly to the Government, which, over-weighted as the finances are by the 'tribute' to the Porte, is not in a position to incur any considerable expenditure to aid them. There can be no question that this backwardness is in a great measure to be attributed to the backwardness in education; ordinary sanitary precautions must be ascribed to the same cause. Besides, the Government is impeded in its ordinary work and in efforts at reform by the difficulty of finding educated men to fill subordinate posts in the administration, and by the inability of the great body of the people to understand and appreciate the aims of the Government measures. It is therefore an object of the highest importance to the welfare of the island that the present elementary education should be greatly improved and its advantage more widely diffused." \* It was suggested that a Board or Council of Education should be formed to advise the Government on educational matters, and that the District Councils should also interest themselves actively in the subject.

The present system of education in Cyprus is largely the result of the proposals contained in the despatch just quoted. The title of the Director of Education was changed to that of "Inspector of Schools," and in February, 1881, a circular letter was sent by the Government to every village in the island

\* Parliamentary Paper C. 2930, p. 136.

setting forth the conditions on which grants-in-aid would be paid to village schools. These conditions were, briefly, that in every case where a grant was applied for, a School Committee elected by the community, consisting of not less than three or more than seven persons, should be formed, if not already in existence, which should be responsible for collecting the sums due for the schoolmaster's salary and other expenses, and for appointing a suitable master. There was, unfortunately, at first considerable reluctance on the part of the Greek community to avail themselves of the assistance thus offered, and it soon became apparent that the reluctance arose from a misunderstanding as to the aims of the Government. The Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus has always shown itself exceedingly suspicious of attempts on the part of other branches of the Christian Church to interfere with its religious tenets. This entirely unfounded suspicion was allayed to a great extent by the creation of a Christian Board of Education, and the relegation of the duties of the Government Department connected with Education to inspection of the schools.

The system at present in force, which, with certain modifications, is identical with that introduced in 1882, has aimed at grafting order and management, conforming to modern needs, on to the original stock, leaving the actual control of the schools in the hands of local committees in each village. It is briefly as follows :—

In May of each year the villages which are to be compelled to support a school during the ensuing school year (September to July) are prescribed by notice in the Government Gazette. The Village Committee in any village thus prescribed is elected by the taxpaying inhabitants of the village every two years, at a meeting summoned by the *Mukhtar* or headman. Its duties are to appoint or dismiss the teacher, to fix his or her salary, and to assess the sum required for salary and general school maintenance among the resident taxpaying inhabitants of the village, according to their means. These "school fees" are afterwards collected by the Government Tax

Collector and paid into the District Treasury. Appeals from decisions of the Village Committee lie, in certain cases, to the District Committee, which is elected in each district by a method of indirect election every two years by the villages which support schools, the Commissioner being *ex officio* Chairman. Its duties are to supply any omissions of the Village Committees ; to hear appeals from their decisions ; and every year to submit to the Board of Education a list showing the villages in its district which in its opinion should be compelled to support schools during the ensuing school year.

Christian and Moslem schools are necessarily kept quite distinct, and there are two Boards of Education, one Christian and the other Moslem. They are chosen every two years and consist of (i.) certain *ex officio* members of native communities ; (ii.) a member elected by each District Committee ; (iii.) members elected by the Legislative Council from among its own members ; (iv.) the Chief Secretary to the Government, who is *ex officio* Chairman. The Inspector of Schools is not a member of either Board, but has a right to be present at its meetings and to give his opinion whenever he is invited or wishes to do so. The main functions of the Board are (i.) to advise the High Commissioner, after a consideration of the recommendation of the District Committees, what villages should be prescribed to support schools during the year ; (ii.) to receive and consider the reports of the Inspectors of Schools, and to recommend to the Government the grant to be allowed to each school ; (iii.) to prescribe the curriculum to be followed and the books to be used in the schools ; (iv.) to hear appeals ; and (v.) generally to deliberate on matters connected with education. In practice the Boards of Education and the District Committees meet two or three times in each year with reference to the distribution of grants, the prescription of schools, and the appointment of teachers.

The curriculum in Christian schools is embodied in regulations formulated by the Board of Education, which has drawn up an analytical programme of the lessons to be taught in all

Christian public elementary schools in the island. The course of lessons is prescribed with great exactness, the hours at which each shall be given, and the method to be employed by the master in teaching and questioning the pupils. The subjects taught are religion, the Greek language, mathematics, natural history and philosophy, history, geography, singing, caligraphy, and gymnastics. The full course lasts six years, and pupils are not to be taken below the age of six.

The Inspector of Schools has a staff of Greek and Moslem Inspectors, by whom all the schools in the island, Christian and Moslem, are visited at least twice in the year. On the reports furnished by the Inspectors, and on the monthly returns which the teachers are required to render to the Inspector of Schools, showing the average attendance of the pupils on the rolls of their schools, is based the amount of the grant-in-aid of each school, which is recommended to the Government every six months by the Board of Education after consideration of the sum proposed by the Inspector of Schools.

It will be seen that the elementary schools in Cyprus are thus supported by local contributions assessed by Village School Committees, supplemented by a system of Government grants-in-aid. There are at present in existence 699 of these schools with 865 teachers and 39,567 scholars, the average attendance being estimated at 35,701, which works out at about 84 per cent. in Moslem, and 92 per cent. in Christian schools.\* These schools are maintained at present at an expense of £32,641, of which £24,446 is raised locally by assessments, contributions from religious funds and individuals, and £8,195, which is contributed by the Government. The Government grant-in-aid is voted annually in the Budget, and is distributed between Christian and Moslem schools in the proportion of about four to one. In 1883 it was fixed at £2,000 per annum, but it has since received various increases in order to provide for the establishment of new schools and the increase in population. The total amount voted in the Estimates for Education,

\* Cyprus Annual Report for 1916-17.—Parliamentary Paper Cd. 8434.

including the cost of the Inspection Staff, was £1,429 in 1881; in 1891 it had risen to £3,000; in 1911 to £5,400; and for the current year (1917-18) it has reached the figure of £11,373.

Few subjects have formed the occasion for more lively debates in the Legislative Council than education. Complaints regarding the levying of "school fees" have been frequent, and the system by which the assessment is left in the hands of a few persons in each village, who are called upon to decide the sum which each taxpaying inhabitant is able to pay, is admittedly unsatisfactory, and leads to many accusations of favouritism and unfairness. Elected members have again and again demanded that "school fees" should be abolished and the whole cost of elementary education defrayed from the revenue, but they have failed to show how such a large increase in expenditure could be met without the imposition of further taxation. The Greek members, however, in making their demands have repeatedly asserted that they will on no account admit of teachers becoming Government servants, appointed and dismissed by the Government, though this would be the natural result of a change whereby the Government would be forced to assume sole financial responsibility for elementary education in the island. Prolonged correspondence on the subject has taken place at various times between the Colonial Office and the island Government. Until the year 1907 the sum voted annually in aid of elementary schools received small increases each year, varying from £37 to £52, but in the year 1907-1908 and the two succeeding years an annual increase of £500 was granted. In 1910, however, the Secretary of State decided not to sanction any further increase in the annual grant-in-aid of elementary schools without a report from an independent person on the state of education in the island. The decision provoked a strong protest from the Greek Board of Education, which put forward at the same time a formal claim that the entire cost of teachers' salaries should be defrayed from the Estimates.

Finally, in 1913, as a result of these discussions, two gentlemen, lent for the purpose by the Board of Education in England, were sent out to Cyprus by the Secretary of State to consult with the local authorities and report generally on the state of education in the island, and to make at the same time suggestions regarding questions of administration and finance. The investigation was carried out with great thoroughness, and whilst certain defects in the present system were pointed out, valuable suggestions were made for remedying them and for placing the whole system on a more satisfactory basis.

One of the main defects in the system of elementary education in Cyprus brought to light by the report is that, while the administrative control by the existing law is distributed among three popularly elected authorities, no one of them is held explicitly responsible for the efficiency of the teaching given in the schools. Further, the conclusion was arrived at that there was a strong case for a substantial increase in the amount devoted to public education out of revenue. The teachers' salaries, varying from £10 to £84 per annum, were considered insufficient, and the average palpably inadequate: the salaries are subject too to fluctuations from year to year, owing to the peculiar method of yearly appointments, common in the Levant, but manifestly unsatisfactory.

To remedy the chief defects the report put forward three alternative schemes, besides making various suggestions as to the training and classification of teachers, the establishment of a system of pensions, limitation in the number of pupils taught by any one teacher, and so forth. The first alternative scheme was that the Government should pay the whole cost of teachers' salaries, school furniture, books, etc., and should appoint and dismiss the teachers in accordance with conditions laid down in an authorized list, the curriculum and choice of books being controlled by the Christian and Moslem Boards of Education.

The second alternative scheme was that the Government should pay half the cost of teachers' salaries, and the whole cost of school furniture, books, etc., the remaining half of the teachers' salaries being met by local funds raised by a rate on the immovable property in each community; the Greek Christian teachers to be appointed and dismissed, as at present, by the Village Committee, but subject to confirmation by the District Committees; and the Government to have power to make such deductions from the grants as it might think fit on educational grounds.

The third alternative scheme was that a plebiscite should be taken of the taxpaying inhabitants of each village to decide whether they desired to accept the first or second alternative scheme, a three-fourths majority being required to signify acceptance.

The additional sum to be provided on the Estimates in case of adoption of the first scheme was estimated to amount to about £29,000, and of the second to about £12,000.

On its financial side the first alternative scheme would more than meet the demands of those who claim that the cost of teachers' salaries should be defrayed from general revenue; but the Greek members of Council have again and again declared that they would sooner dispense with State aid altogether than surrender to an alien Government the control of the teachers, which, they assert, they have always possessed, alike under Turkish and British rule, and which they deem to be vital to their political aspirations. The objection to Government control of the teachers on the part of the Greek community is, in fact, not religious, as they would like to have it imagined, but political. This was clearly indicated by a frank statement made to the authors of the report by the leader of the Greek party in the Legislative Council at their last conference with the Greek Board of Education. "We cannot deny," said this gentleman, "that school teachers are factors in the country, socially and politically. No one could deny this, or that the teachers have helped us in our controversies with the

Government. They have, for instance, helped to bring about the reduction of the 'tribute' to Turkey (*sic*), and there are subjects in which we are still at variance with the Government. They have in this way educated the people in fighting for their political rights. The teachers in our hands are a weapon difficult to fight against, and we don't want to hand them over to the Government. If they were under the sway of the Government some would resign, while others would feel timid, and would not work for the support of the country." \*

This quotation demonstrates very clearly the root difficulty encountered by the British administration in dealing with the educational problem in Cyprus, so far as the Greek population is concerned. The Moslems have no religious or political fears, and would willingly hand over complete control of their teachers to the local Government, if thereby they could secure better education for their children and a more equitable method of raising the necessary funds. But with the Greeks bent on utilizing the elementary school teachers for the advancement of their propaganda for union with Greece and educating the children throughout the island to look upon the cessation of the British administration of Cyprus as their political ideal, it is clear that a proposal that the whole payment of salaries should be borne by the Government whilst the complete control remains in the hands of local Greek authorities, is inadmissible. As it is, the Greek elementary schools are used largely for fostering the Hellenic idea ; there is hardly a school in the island whose walls are not adorned with portraits of the Greek royal family ; Greek flags are displayed on all occasions, and Greek Independence Day celebrated every year with great fervour ; Greek schoolmasters present florid addresses to the High Commissioner when he visits their villages, in which union with Greece is represented in flowing periods as the predominant ideal filling the breasts of all the villagers, and the school children are marshalled in an imposing

\* Report on Education in Cyprus by Messrs. T. E. Talbot and F. W. Cape. 1913.

phalanx, and taught to shout in unison "Zeto Enosis" (Long live Union), as the High Commissioner approaches. What the leaders of the Greek community fear is that, if the appointment and dismissal of school teachers were handed over to the Government, an end would be put to all this propaganda, and they would be deprived of "a weapon difficult to fight against" upon which they rely to "help them in their controversies with the Government."

The views held by the teachers themselves are difficult to gauge, but there is evidence that, if left alone by political agitators, they would welcome a change which, whilst placing them under Government control would secure for them adequate pay and some security of appointment, subject to an efficient discharge of their scholastic duties and general good behaviour. But such a change would require legislative sanction, and it is unlikely that the Greek members of Council would consent to vote for a measure framed on these lines. The second alternative scheme proposed in the report would seem to be the best which could, under the circumstances, be devised, and the most likely to command the assent of the Legislative Council. In drafting the law care would have to be exercised to ensure that, whatever proportion of the teachers' salaries were paid by the Government, the latter should have complete control of the money furnished by it. Above all, it is essential that the grants paid by the Government should be subject to such deduction, on educational grounds, as the Education Department might think fit. This condition is not only just in principle, but is obviously necessary if the Education Department is to be held responsible for seeing that the work of the schools is reasonably efficient.

The mode of assessing local contributions by means of a rate on immovable property would do away with the present unsatisfactory system of obliging the Village Committee to assess their fellow-villagers by a mere guess at what they think they can afford to pay. The system—common as it is in the Levant—is highly unpopular both with the villagers and the Committees

themselves, and some less arbitrary method of assessment is urgently required.

It would not be impossible by some readjustment of taxation to provide the additional sums which would be required if any of the three alternative schemes were adopted. The subject of elementary education is so important that no pains should be spared to improve the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs. It would be unworthy of any administration to shirk so important a problem merely because its solution is found to involve grave difficulties.

The report of 1913 was printed and laid before the members of the Legislative Council for their consideration, but unfortunately the outbreak of war in 1914 prevented any action being taken to carry into effect any of its suggestions, although pending some action the annual increase of £500 to the grant-in-aid for elementary education has been sanctioned, and the sum provided for the current year amounts to £8,200.

As regards secondary education, this is not at present directed or controlled by Government, and there is no independent provision for the training of teachers apart from that afforded in the higher classes of certain secondary schools in Nicosia. The Moslems have, in the capital, an admirable institution called the Idadi School, which was, in the days before the British occupation, controlled and supported by the Turkish Government, and now receives an annual Government grant of £384. It is controlled by a governing body, and the course of instruction includes the Turkish language, Persian and Arabic, English, and modern Greek. Mathematics are taught on a modern and Western system, and history and geography are included. No pupil is accepted below the age of twelve, and the pupils remain at the school to the age of seventeen or eighteen.

The Greeks possess, in the Cyprus Gymnasium, founded in 1893, by far the largest and most important of the higher educational institutions in the island. It is managed by a committee of which the Archbishop is President and is

supported by school fees paid by the pupils, by voluntary contributions, especially from the Church and principal monasteries and by individuals, and by a levy on the amount assessed in support of village elementary schools throughout the island. It also receives a grant of £200 per annum from the Government in consideration of the services rendered by it in training masters for the elementary schools. The programme of studies has been framed with a view to preparing students for the University of Athens, and the course of instruction shows that the Greek Cypriots have realized more fully than the Moslems the need of making the teachers proficient in the more practical subjects of the elementary school curriculum. Modelled on the Cyprus Gymnasium are five "High Schools" in the principal towns of the island, which provide secondary education for boys who have passed through the elementary schools. The report of 1913 pronounces strongly in favour of the establishment by the Government of training colleges, both Moslem and Christian, for elementary school teachers, pending which it recommends that the Government grant to the Gymnasium should be increased.

There is also in Nicosia an excellent institution known as the "English School," established in 1900 on the lines of an English Grammar School, with over one hundred pupils, both boarders and day boys, representing every community in the island, and attended by English, Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Syrian, and other boys, including pupils from Egypt and neighbouring countries. There is an excellent curriculum, particular attention being given to modern languages and commercial subjects, such as shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, etc. The usual English games are played keenly and well, and a school magazine helps to maintain an admirable *esprit de corps*. Boys are prepared for English public schools, for the Beyrout College, for the Cyprus Government service, and for commercial careers, and the school has already gained in Cyprus and elsewhere in the Levant a high reputation for the moral and intellectual qualities of its scholars.

There is great need for some means of instruction of the Cypriot youth in agriculture and industrial subjects. Cyprus is pre-eminently an agricultural country, and the science of agriculture has in the past been sadly neglected, a fact to which the backwardness of agriculture and the primitive methods by which it is conducted bear eloquent witness. The establishment by the Government in 1913 of an Agricultural College in Nicosia marks an important departure from the old neglect of agriculture, and an attempt has been made to encourage the study of agriculture in the elementary schools by means of school gardens, and by instituting a course in agriculture for elementary school teachers at the college. The provision of technical instruction for boys after leaving the elementary schools, though a most desirable object, can hardly be undertaken by Government, but the establishment of trade schools in the large towns would be a fitting object for private munificence. Here they could be given a special training in the chief trades of the locality, combined with some continuation of the general education which they have received in elementary schools. A belief that private munificence for such an object may in time be forthcoming is warranted by the fact that a public-spirited Cypriot has recently established in Cyprus, by the generous gift of £16,000, a finely designed commercial school, providing accommodation for thirty boarders and a hundred day boys. There is no doubt that the importance of education is fully realized by the Cypriots of all classes, and legislative measures for improving the present system should no longer be delayed.

## CHAPTER X.

### FORESTS.

**T**RADITION asserts that Cyprus was in former times a densely-wooded country, with forests stretching from the interior to its very shores, and we read in Strabo that "in ancient times it was impossible to till the land on account of the quantity and extent of wood." Yet at present the forests are confined to the chain of hills in the south-west of the island, and even here the more dense and better growth is restricted to the less accessible parts of the loftier ranges and higher slopes. Few sights are more depressing than the barren hills over which the road from Larnaca to Nicosia runs, or the great expanse of treeless plain traversed by the narrow-gauge railway connecting the port of Famagusta with the capital. The present scarcity of trees as compared with former times is attributed partly to the immense demands made on Cyprus in olden days for timber for ship-building, and partly to the neglect of the forests by the Turks during their three hundred years of occupation. Certainly the Turks did little to prevent the wholesale and wanton destruction of trees which was carried out before the British occupation by the thriftless villagers. "The Cypriot," wrote a visitor to the island in 1879, "will fell a large pine for the sake of the base of five or six feet in length that will afford him a wooden trough either for water or to feed his pigs. A great number of the larger trees are cut and partially scooped for four or five feet before their destruction is determined upon, as the carpenter wishes to prove the quality of the heart. Many are rejected, and the operation proceeds no further; but the tree remains mutilated for ever. Should a straight pole be required for any special purpose, a large pine is found, and the tapered, pointed top is cut off to a convenient length, the great spar being rejected and left to decay on the ground." \*

\* "Cyprus as I Saw It in 1879," by Sir Samuel Baker.

One of the first acts of the British administration was a stringent provision against the felling of any tree throughout the island, or the cutting of any wood for the burning of charcoal. But the mere enactment of a law is of no avail, unless there is machinery for enforcing it. The Ottoman Government had, five years before the British occupation of Cyprus, promulgated a Forest Law regulating the felling and sale of wood, and had appointed a Sub-Inspector to the charge of the forests of Cyprus, with three guards to watch over them. After a period of three years the services of the Sub-Inspector were dispensed with, the guards alone remaining. These were practically the sole agents available for enforcing the regulations at the time of the British occupation.

The British administration lost no time in seeking expert advice, and the services of an officer of the Indian Forest Department were obtained in 1878 to inspect and report on the forests in Cyprus. In his report, submitted early in 1879, he recorded his opinion that the chief causes of the great reduction in forests which had evidently taken place in Cyprus were the extension of vineyards, the absence of control and supervision which led to indiscriminate fellings, the prevalence of fires caused by the carelessness of shepherds, and the wasteful methods of extracting resin. He described the wanton manner in which fellings had been carried on as "almost beyond belief," and characterized the establishment placed in charge of the forests as utterly inadequate to protect the forests efficiently "even if it had been their duty." The forest round Troodos presented "a picture of the most wanton and unwarrantable destruction. . . . One cannot imagine a more wasteful use of timber," he wrote, "than this, when, to procure a small trough which could easily be put together by four slabs of planks of half-inch thickness, it is necessary to fell a pine tree 150 years old." \*

Sir Garnet Wolseley, shortly after his arrival in Cyprus as

\* Report by Mr. A. E. Wild on the Forests in the Island of Cyprus, 1879.—Parliamentary Paper C. 2427.

High Commissioner, secured from Tasmania a number of seeds of *Eucalyptus globulus*, and a contract was entered into with a private firm for the planting of ten thousand of these trees in and around Nicosia and Larnaca. But the most pressing need was not so much the planting of fresh trees as the preservation of those already in existence. With this end in view a law was passed in 1881 providing for a delimitation of the State forests in the island. Two years previously a member of the French Forest Department, M. Madon, had been appointed Principal Forest Officer, and had already put into execution various measures for the conservation of existing forests and the planting of fresh areas. "If care be not taken," wrote Mr. Madon caustically, "the Mediterranean will soon count one island less and one rock more." "A desert has, in fact, replaced the ancient forest vegetation of Cyprus," wrote another authority.

One of the greatest enemies to the forest in Cyprus is the goat, and as early as 1881 M. Madon pointed out that it would be useless to carry out any measure of planting unless some remedy could be found against the damage done by this destructive animal, which not only destroys freshly grown plants, but browses on the young branches of older trees and kills by its poisonous saliva what its teeth spare. Cyprus contains more goats in proportion to its area and population than any country in the world, the number at present in the island being upwards of 250,000. "Unrestrained goat-grazing and forests cannot exist together in the same place, any more than a cat and a mouse in the same room," is the verdict of a recent authority on Forestry.\* It was, however, useless to expect the Legislative Council to pass any drastic measure for diminishing the number of goats in the island in view of the dependence of the inhabitants on these animals for certain necessary articles of food and raiment.† The delimi-

\* Report on Cyprus Forestry, by Mr. D. E. Hutchins, F.R.G.S. 1909.

† A law prohibiting the importation of goats into Cyprus and empowering the High Commissioner under certain conditions to increase the tax on goats was, however, passed in 1888, and has remained in force ever since.

tation of the State forests, the regulation of the grazing of animals therein, and the creation of an adequate staff of guards to ensure obedience to the Forest Laws were the first and most necessary steps that could be taken, and they were carried out with expedition and a fair measure of success.

Conservation of existing forests is, however, an easier and much less costly problem than the afforestation of fresh areas, or the reafforestation of the older tracts. M. Madon had proposed a programme of planting which was estimated to cost £600,000, a sum quite beyond the resources of the island. Yet circumstances existed which made some extension of the forest area a highly desirable object. The rainfall of Cyprus is small and variable, amounting on an average to about twenty-three inches in the year, and it is confined almost entirely to the winter months. The effect of forests is to retain, for a time at least, a considerable portion—stated by some authorities to be as much as one-third—of the water precipitated on a given surface in the form of rain, and they have, moreover, a profound effect on the climatic and meteorological conditions of a country.\* The need for the expenditure of money on afforestation was brought to the notice of Mr. Winston Churchill when he visited the island in 1907, and in the following year the appropriation of a sum of £5,000 for afforestation purposes was sanctioned, the following words being used by the High Commissioner in a despatch to the Secretary of State when putting forward the recommendation :

“ The deplorable condition of the Cyprus forests and the inability hitherto of the Island Government to do more than to preserve as far as may be possible the remnant which has not been destroyed, have been so frequently brought to the notice of His Majesty's Government that no argument of mine is needed to support the proposed appropriation of £5,000 for

\* The late Kiamal Pasha, more than once Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, a Cypriot who was born and spent his youth in Nicosia (where he died on his return in 1913), remarked to the writer shortly before his death that he noticed a great change in the climate of Nicosia, which he attributed to the tree-planting which had taken place since the British occupation.

afforestation purposes. The time has at last come when the Island Government, after thirty years of enforced inactivity, is placed in a position to undertake a work which perhaps more than any other is calculated to restore Cyprus to the height of her Mediæval prosperity, and I apprehend with confidence that His Majesty's Government will share the satisfaction with which the local Government contemplates the opportunity now offered." \*

Since these words were written considerable sums of money have been devoted each year to tree-planting throughout the island, and great progress has been made. The Principal Forest Officer now has at his disposal a staff of two Inspectors, five Forest Officers, and seventy Forest Guards, of whom twelve are mounted men, whilst the total expenditure allowed to the Forest Department for the current year † amounts to no less than £35,643. The importance of the forests in Cyprus has been brought into great prominence by the fact that for the last three years, on account of the war, the importation of timber from Asia Minor and Austria has ceased, and the island has not only been obliged to obtain its supplies from its own forests, but has exported large quantities of fire-wood to Egypt for the use of the troops there. The forest revenue, which in 1916 amounted to £17,600, is estimated to produce during the current year † a sum of no less than £47,000, and there is no reason to suppose that this will have a deleterious effect on the resources of the forests. During the last ten years roads have been constructed into hitherto inaccessible portions of the pine forests in the hills occupying the western half of the island, and saw-mills erected. These forests cover some three hundred square miles, so that a rotation of a hundred years would permit the cutting of three square miles each year : with the two saw-mills at present at work, a third of a square mile can be cut over each year, representing about ten thousand cubic feet of timber per month. Eighteen more saw-mills,

\* Despatch from Sir Charles King-Harman to Lord Elgin, January 10 1908.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3996.

† *Viz.*, the financial year 1917-18.

would provide ninety thousand cubic feet of timber per month and would just suffice to cut over the three square miles available. Reafforestation would, of course, be carried out simultaneously in the areas cut over, and the forests thus be preserved intact for futurity.

Finally, the difficult goat question has been attacked by the passing in 1913 of an important law, designed to reduce the number of goats in the island by excluding them altogether from villages which elect to do so. On petition from a number of the inhabitants of any village the High Commissioner is authorized to order a ballot to be held amongst the taxpaying inhabitants, and if the majority is in favour of the exclusion of goats, the village is scheduled, and twelve months are given for it to get rid of its goats. At the termination of this period the Government is obliged to purchase at a price fixed by arbitration any goat found within the village boundaries, and henceforth any goat so found is confiscated. The obligation thus imposed on the Government involves a certain financial liability which might at any time become inconvenient, but no expenditure from public funds on the purchase of goats has so far proved necessary, as the owners of goats in scheduled villages have hitherto always disposed of their animals before the expiration of the prescribed period. The result of the law has already proved highly satisfactory, goats being entirely excluded, owing to its operation, from upwards of a hundred village areas in the island, to the great benefit of the trees, vineyards, and crops. In Greece and other neighbouring countries which suffer from the goat evil the measure has excited considerable interest, and it is by no means improbable that it will be imitated. Should this prove the case Cyprus will be entitled to the credit of having framed and put in force legislation of a novel and original kind, enabling rural areas to get rid of their goats by a system of local option without having recourse to confiscation or oppressive measures against the owners.

## CHAPTER XI.

### AGRICULTURE.

**I**T is much to be regretted that agriculture has not till late years received in Cyprus anything like the attention which has been bestowed on forestry. Cyprus is pre-eminently an agricultural country, and the great majority of the inhabitants depend entirely upon agriculture for their livelihood. The soil of the Mesaoria plain is, to a depth of many feet, a rich sandy loam, and the cereals of Cyprus enjoy a good reputation, the barley especially being favourably reported on in England, where it is said to be peculiarly suited for malting. In ancient times the island was famed for its cotton, and even in mediæval times the plant was extensively cultivated, whilst as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries large quantities were exported. The Abbé Mariti, writing on Cyprus in 1767, states: "Among natural products the chief is cotton, reckoned the finest in the Levant for its whiteness, substance, and length of staple. . . . Barley throughout the island is of excellent quality, and is chiefly sent through European merchants to the coast of Spain." \*

At the time of the British occupation the attention of the authorities was chiefly devoted, so far as agriculture was concerned, to combating the locust pest, which from year to year devastated the island and caused great damage to the crops. The Turks had by no means neglected the matter, and one of the few able Governors of Cyprus, Said Pasha, had done much to eradicate locusts from the island some years before the occupation by instituting a system of purchasing

\* "Travels in the Island of Cyprus." Translated from the Italian of Giovanni Mariti, by C. D. Cobham.

and destroying the eggs. A scheme was devised in later years by an Italian gentleman who was the owner of a large landed estate in Cyprus. Observing that locusts in their march never turned back, he arranged canvas cloths two feet in breadth which were tied to small stakes, stuck into the ground, and stretched across the march of the locusts on either side, at an angle of about  $135^{\circ}$ ; to the top of the cloth was sewn three inches of oil-cloth. At a distance of about one hundred feet apart pits were dug five feet in length, three feet in depth, and two and a half in breadth. After vainly trying to surmount the cloth barrier the locusts fell into the pits, where they were buried alive and destroyed in masses.

During the year 1880 much damage was done to the crops in Cyprus by locusts, and the British administration decided to carry out a vigorous campaign in the hope of ridding the island altogether of the scourge. A sum of no less than £27,250 was advanced by the Island Treasury for the purpose, and in 1881 two laws were passed, one conferring on the High Commissioner wide powers in respect of locust destruction, and the other imposing special taxation to meet the cost. The methods of purchasing locusts and their eggs and of constructing traps were both employed, and, owing to the vigorous measures carried out, by the year 1884 the scourge was so far abated that the campaigns of subsequent years were limited to the purchase by Government of live locusts, which were caught by sweeping the ground with nets each spring. The costly system of purchasing locusts and their eggs has lately been superseded, however, by a more scientific and less expensive method, adopted from South Africa, by which the ground on which the young locusts are hatched is sprayed with a solution of arsenite and soda and molasses, which destroys the insects before they arrive at maturity. This method has reduced very considerably the expenses involved by the destruction of locusts, and renders the continuation of special taxation for the purpose unnecessary.

The locust pest was, however, by no means the only

disability from which the agriculture of Cyprus suffered. Periodic droughts and the absence of rainfall except during the winter months presented serious problems which at once invited the attention of the authorities. Various schemes were put forward for improving the supply of water to the arable lands, both by utilizing the existing streams and sources of water, instead of allowing them to run to waste, and by artesian well boring. The expense involved by such schemes was, however, an insuperable barrier to their adoption, and it was not till many years later that funds were made available for the purpose. Some irrigation works were carried out in 1883, but it was not till 1896 that any real system of irrigation could be introduced. In that year a loan of £60,000 was granted by the Colonial Office, and with this sum works were carried out, under the superintendence of a capable engineer in the plains of the Mesaoria, designed to form large reservoirs whence the water could be distributed by channels and conduits to the neighbouring districts. These works have not unfortunately proved financially successful, and hardly pay their working expenses, and the suggestion has even been made that they should be abandoned. Better results have been obtained by the introduction of air motors, which are now in common use throughout the island. A system of conducting water by means of a chain of wells, sunk about thirty feet apart, and connected by an underground channel, has existed in Cyprus for untold years, and is still in general use both for purposes of irrigation and for providing the towns with their water supply. Various experiments in artesian well boring have been carried out by Government in recent years, but so far little success has been attained, although experts sent out from time to time have reported favourably on the possibility of obtaining water in this manner.

It must not be imagined that the Cypriot has been indifferent to the need for a vigorous agricultural policy to develop the resources of the island. Numerous proposals have been made from time to time for the improvement in agriculture,

and a deputation which visited England in 1889 to lay before the Secretary of State representations concerning the affairs of the island put forward a number of proposals with this end in view, such as the formation of an Agricultural Department, the establishment of an Agricultural Bank, and the maintenance of a model farm or farms. The Secretary of State in reply stated that he was not then prepared to agree to the establishment of an Agricultural Department, although he considered that a small Board might well be constituted composed partly of officials and partly of native gentlemen who had paid special attention to agriculture, the duties of such Board being partly advisory and partly executive. He expressed himself not unfavourable to the principle of an Agricultural Bank, although of opinion that the general revenue of Cyprus could not be pledged for the interest and repayment of the capital subscribed for such a bank. He signified his willingness, however, to agree, if the Legislative Council so desired, that the surplus of the locust taxes should be constituted a special fund out of which a deficiency of interest, below an agreed minimum, should be made good to the shareholders in case the profits did not suffice for the purpose. As an alternative, however, he suggested that the surplus proceeds of the locust taxes should be simply left as a fund in the hands of the Government, and that from this fund loans might be made to villages, or groups of villages, for accommodation-roads and irrigation, and advances might be made on a small scale to villagers to buy animals or implements or seed-corn. He did not consider that any appreciable good would result from the maintenance of model farms, even if they could be maintained at a fair profit. "The example of what a Government with the advantage of credit, resources, and intelligence could do," he wrote, "would be of little practical value to an embarrassed peasantry. And farms carried on at a loss would be useless, for every farmer knows how to lose money in farming." \*

\* Despatch from Lord Knutsford to Sir Henry Bulwer, March 22, 1890.—Parliamentary Paper C. 6003.

In spite of the recognized importance of agriculture, it was not till many years later, however, that definite steps were taken to encourage this vital industry. In 1903 a farm was purchased by the Government close to Nicosia, and formed into an experimental station under the charge of a practical agriculturist; this was later converted into a stock-breeding establishment, where stock is reared and distributed over the island. At the same time a Director of Agriculture was appointed and a Board of Agriculture formed under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary to Government, of which the new Director was a member. In 1904 Professor Wyndham Dunstan, F.R.S., Director of the Imperial Institute in London, visited Cyprus at the request of the Colonial Office, to report on the agricultural resources of the island, with special reference to cotton. He reported favourably on the agricultural possibilities of Cyprus, which, he declared, would, under a proper system of irrigation, become "a splendid field of agricultural enterprise." \* He advocated the formation of an Agricultural Department at whose head should be an officer of experience in agricultural teaching and research and fully conversant with modern methods, with a staff consisting of a chemist to conduct all analyses required, and a chief agricultural adviser with three assistants, of whom one should have special knowledge of botany, another of cotton growing, and the third should be an entomologist. The principal business of the Department would be, in his opinion, to conduct agricultural experiments and to study native methods of agriculture throughout the island, with a view to their improvement in the light of modern knowledge.

Unfortunately political considerations interfered with the formation of an Agricultural Department on the lines advocated by Professor Dunstan. The systematic experimental work necessary to ascertain the possibilities of the soil and acquire definite knowledge with regard to the agricultural

\* "Report on the Agricultural Resources of Cyprus," by Professor Wyndham Dunstan, F.R.S. 1905.

capabilities of the island could only be successfully undertaken by an agriculturist thoroughly trained in modern methods. "The requirement is not likely to be met," wrote Professor Dunstan, "by the appointment of a Greek agriculturist as head of the Agricultural Department. Agriculture in Greece is in a backward state, and the agricultural schools of that country do not rank with our own, or with those of other European nations." But he warmly approved of the proposal to appoint a Greek agriculturist with Greek or Cypriot assistants to travel in the island and instruct the natives in matters of practical agriculture, and induce them, as far as possible, to take advantage of modern methods, with which they are little familiar.

The Greek members of Council could hardly be expected to endorse Professor Dunstan's views with regard to the qualifications of agriculturists trained in Greece, and they were bent on obtaining a Greek as head of the new Department, and until 1910 the post was so filled. In that year, however, the Greek Director of Agriculture resigned the post on account of ill-health, and the appointment remained unfilled for some years; but in 1912 the services of a capable official of Greek nationality from the island of Crete were obtained as Inspector of Agriculture, and a number of promising young Cypriots were sent to Europe at Government expense about this time to attend courses in France, Italy, Greece, and other countries in agriculture, botany, viticulture, sericulture, entomology, and other practical subjects.

As time goes on, the farmer all over the world is becoming more and more dependent on the botanist, the chemist, and the zoologist. He sows and reaps his crop each year, and yet his mere empirical knowledge has long since proved inadequate. To meet the situation the Government decided in 1912 to establish at the capital an Agricultural College, and a well-designed building was erected the following year, with class room and laboratories, and instruction has since been regularly given by members of the staff to some thirty lads.

who come from all parts of the island. Government Nursery Gardens have also been established in various places throughout the island, and district overseers appointed to travel about amongst the villages and advise the villagers on agricultural matters. An agricultural chemist and an entomologist are attached to the staff of the director, and in the laboratories of which they have charge much useful work is carried on. In short, a vast amount of leeway has been made up during the last seven years, and the sum allocated to the Agricultural Department now amounts to over £10,000 per annum.

Besides cereals the most important products of Cyprus are the carob bean, the grape, and the olive. Large quantities of carob beans are exported every year to England for the manufacture of cattle food, the total value of this export amounting to nearly £250,000 per annum. The Agricultural Department has done much useful work in investigating the life-history of an insect which has in the past done much damage to the carob trees in the island, and there is every hope that in course of time the pest may be altogether eliminated. The vine-industry, which has suffered greatly from the blight known as *Oidium tuckeri*, has been benefited by the importation by Government of large quantities of sulphur, which has been distributed in the island and sold to villagers at cost price and applied by them to their vines in accordance with instructions issued by the Department.

The export of live-stock from Cyprus to Egypt and elsewhere forms one of the principal sources of revenue, and stock farms established in various districts have done an incalculable amount of good. Some valuable thoroughbred stallions and a number of Devon bulls and milch cows were purchased and imported from England in 1913, and accommodated at the Government Stock Farm.\* The result has been the introduction into the

\* Two famous stallions were amongst the stock purchased in England by the Cyprus Government at this time and imported into the island, *viz.*, *Huckle-my-Buff*, by Isinglass out of Snip by Donovan out of Isabel (dam of St. Frusquin); and *Téméraire*, by Greyleg out of Tereska by Isonomy out of Violetta by Hermit.

island of first-class stock and the consequent improvement of the existing stock. Hitherto the island has been famed mostly for its mules, which are of an excellent stamp, not inferior to those bred in Spain and Sicily. But horse and cattle breeding have now received a considerable impetus from the action of the Government, and in course of time Cyprus stock will be in great demand in the Egyptian and other markets.

What is chiefly wanting in Cyprus, however, is capital to enable the small farmer—who constitutes the bulk of the population—to carry on and develop his business. Centuries of oppression have left the people backward, thriftless, and unenterprising, and the wealth which has been slowly accumulating during the past forty years has tended to find its way into the hands of the usurers, who are unscrupulous in their dealings with the peasantry. Attempts have been made from time to time to establish an Agricultural Bank, and proposals were made, as has been seen, in 1889 with this object. A vivid picture of the condition of the peasants is to be found in a letter written to the Government in 1889 by a Cypriot gentleman residing in Limassol, when submitting a scheme for the establishment of an Agricultural Bank. "When a peasant wants money. . . . he is compelled to have resource to the usurer," wrote this gentleman, "who usually lends him money with the following condition:—Interest to be twenty-four per cent.; the payment to be made in kind, with a discount of fifteen per cent. from the current price; the interest to be paid entirely, even if the ingathering of the produce is approaching; a juggling theft at the time the produce is weighed; and moreover when the entries are made in the book, if the produce that is given to the peasant or credit is barley, which is worth one piastre the *kilé* it is put down at three piastres; if it is rice worth 3*d.* the oke, at 9*d.*, and so forth in the same proportion, the capital being also charged with interest." \*

\* Letter from Mr. Pilivachi, August 22, 1889.—Parliamentary Paper C. 6003.

In order to meet the necessity for providing some means of obtaining small loans for agriculture and other industrial purposes a law was passed by the Legislative Council in 1897 establishing a Public Loan Fund. A Board termed the Loan Commissioners was set up and empowered to utilize certain Government funds, including the surplus locust fund, for making loans on approved security to the Government, to municipal and village authorities, to bodies of not less than five persons for agricultural or irrigation purposes, or under certain conditions to individuals, at a rate of interest not exceeding seven per cent. The Commissioners consisted of the High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary, the Treasurer, the Director of Agriculture, and four of the elected members of the Legislative Council. Money was also to be advanced by the Commissioners to the Treasurer for making loans of seed-corn to indigent farmers, and by a law passed the following year seed-corn loans might be repaid in kind the following year on the threshing floor, with an addition of twenty-five per cent. by way of interest, the apparently high rate of interest being justified by the great risk run owing to the fluctuating price of corn. The law has proved very useful, and a large number of peasants are assisted every year by means of the seed-corn loans, although the system has led to some abuse, and the loans have become in many cases simply short cash loans, the corn being converted into money, and not used as seed. The vast number of applications for such loans, however, has proved how real is the need amongst the poor agricultural population for short loans even at a high rate of interest to save them from the exactions of the grasping usurer, who is as common a feature of village life in Cyprus as in India. Various demands have been made to Government from time to time for the establishment of Co-operative Societies on the well-known lines adopted in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, but it was not till 1913 that a law was passed providing for the establishment of Agricultural Co-operative Societies of the Raffeisen type, that is to say, with unlimited liability of all the members. A copy

of the law, to which Regulations were subsequently appended, is to be found in the Appendix, and although the conservative peasantry have so far been slow to avail themselves of its provisions, there is every hope that it will eventually prove as successful a means for rescuing the Cypriot from the grasp of the usurer as similar measures have proved in India and elsewhere. Once the principle of co-operation has been grasped and the system learned, the law may be extended to other forms of co-operation, but experience has shown that a modest beginning is the safest method of introducing this most successful incentive to thrift, and that the motto *festina lente* is peculiarly applicable in this case. If the more intelligent members of the community could be induced to form a society on the lines of the Agricultural Organization Society in Ireland for promoting co-operation amongst the villagers, now that Government has done its duty by enacting the necessary legislation, agriculture in Cyprus should in a short time assume a position which it is difficult to over-estimate. What the farmer in Cyprus requires is, first, capital, secondly, some rudimentary knowledge of the science of agriculture. Co-operative Credit Societies should now enable him to procure the former, whilst the Agricultural College and the Agricultural Department provide him with the latter. It only remains for him to avail himself of the opportunities thus offered.

## CHAPTER XII.

### HARBOURS, RAILWAYS, AND COMMUNICATIONS.

AT the time of the British occupation Cyprus possessed no harbours, no railways, and only one road, twenty-six miles in length, which connected the port of Larnaca with the capital. At Larnaca itself there was nothing but an open roadstead, sheltered to some extent to the north and east, but otherwise so exposed that even in moderately rough weather the landing of passengers and goods was difficult, whilst in westerly and southerly gales it was impossible without grave risk to life and property. Yet this was the port through which practically the whole of the commerce of the island passed. It was at Larnaca that the foreign consuls were stationed and the shipping agents had their offices, and it was here that the Turks maintained their Commercial Court. A small portion of the commerce of the island passed through the port of Limassol, also an open roadstead without any adequate landing facilities, and exposed to the weather.\*

In order to provide some landing accommodation at these two places estimates were prepared in 1880 for the construction of iron piers, about six hundred feet in length, at which lighters could land and discharge cargo, and these works in due course were carried out. In recent years a further sum of £27,000 has been expended in extending the pier at Larnaca and providing it with a sheltering arm, but in rough weather

\* Sir R. Biddulph, in a despatch of January 10, 1881, to Lord Kimberley, stated that "in 1879 the trade was carried on almost entirely at the open roadsteads of Larnaca and Limassol." Of the imports, nearly three-fourths came to Larnaca and nine-tenths of the remainder to Limassol; of the exports, nearly half were shipped at Larnaca and nearly three-fourths of the remainder at Limassol.—Parliamentary Paper C. 2930.

landing is still difficult, and steamers are obliged to lie some distance out, as there is no safe anchorage close inshore.

It was clearly impossible, without the expenditure of large sums of money, to provide accommodation at either of these ports which would enable large vessels to lie alongside and discharge their cargo direct, without the use of lighters. Attention was, therefore, directed to the remains of the ancient harbour of Famagusta, which in Venetian times had been the main port of Cyprus. The harbour is completely sheltered from all winds, except those blowing from the north-east, and as the east is not the prevailing wind no heavy sea is ever experienced. A reef of rocks running north and south forms a natural breakwater, and it was found that without any great expenditure of money a commodious inner harbour could be constructed which, by means of dredging, could be made to accommodate vessels drawing twenty-eight feet of water; these could then lie alongside the wharf and discharge their cargoes direct on the shore. An estimate was accordingly made in 1881 by the Government engineer for the construction of a breakwater, harbour, and quay wall at a cost of about £140,000, and an alternative scheme more ambitious in design was drawn up at the same time of which the estimated cost amounted to £340,000, whilst a third alternative scheme, providing for a harbour and quay wall only, at a cost of £50,000, was also put forward. Cyprus had not then, however, at its disposal the funds requisite for carrying into effect even the most limited of these proposals, and Lord Kimberley wrote: "I do not consider that the circumstances would justify an application to Parliament to supply funds for the construction of a commercial harbour, in addition to the heavy annual charge which in the present financial position of the island must be borne by the Imperial Treasury in aid of local revenue." \* The project was therefore abandoned for the time being, and the commerce of the island continued to be conducted through

\* Despatch from Lord Kimberley to Sir R. Biddulph, February 22, 1882.—Parliamentary Paper C. 3384.

the medium of the two southern ports of Larnaca and Limassol with their open roadsteads.

In 1895, however, on the appointment of Mr. Chamberlain to the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, with far-reaching ideas as to the commercial development of the Crown Colonies, the question of harbour facilities in Cyprus once more came to the fore, and in 1899 a loan of £254,000 was granted under the Colonial Loans Act, 1899, for the construction of a harbour and quay at Famagusta, and a narrow-gauge railway to connect that port with the capital. The work on the harbour was begun in 1903, and in the following year the construction of a two feet six inch railway from the harbour to Nicosia, a distance of thirty-six miles, was also put in hand. The harbour works were completed in June, 1906, and the railway, extended a further twenty-five miles to Morphou near the western extremity of the Mesaoria plains, was opened for traffic in 1907. The harbour is an excellent one, and was described a few years ago by a naval authority as being capable with a little further expenditure of being converted into the best harbour of the Near East. Steamers of considerable burden can lie alongside and discharge their cargo by means of cranes on the quay, where it is loaded on the railway trucks and transported into the interior of the island.

Whether it is, however, the extreme conservatism of the Cypriot which makes him reluctant to abandon the old methods to which he has been used for centuries, or whether it is external causes which have militated against the success of the harbour and railway, the fact remains that until quite recently the results of the enterprise have been disappointing. The railway has until a few years ago not only failed to pay any part of the interest or sinking fund on its capital expenditure, but its receipts have not even sufficed to cover the working expenses. The villagers have been indisposed to abandon the old primitive methods of transporting their produce—and themselves—in country carts and on camels, mules, and donkeys, and have been content to gape at the passing train, as

if it were intended to afford amusement rather than be of use. With the exception of the weekly subsidized mail steamer vessels have for the most part neglected to make Famagusta a port of call, and have continued as before to confine their visits to the open roadsteads at Larnaca and Limassol. The vested interests of Larnaca also have proved too strong in spite of the many facilities offered by the new harbour, and commerce has tended to follow its old route and prefer the cumbrous cartage on shore to the quick methods of discharge by lighter, and ready methods supplied by a harbour, quay, and railway. Of late, however, matters have improved considerably. On the outbreak of war the foreign lines which used to call at the southern Cyprus ports on their way to and from the coast of Syria ceased to visit the island, and practically the whole commerce of Cyprus has been in the hands of the vessels belonging to the line which holds the mail contract, and which under its agreement call at all the ports. Commerce is being gradually diverted to Famagusta, and the railway, whose welfare is bound up with that port, has benefited accordingly. An extension of about fifteen miles made in 1914 from Morphou to the villages at the foot of the Troodos hills, following the advice of a railway expert sent to the island in 1913, has brought more traffic on to the line, and for the current year a railway revenue of £18,000 is estimated, against an expenditure of £14,000, and there is no reason why further progress should not be expected.

It has often been suggested that a coasting service round Cyprus should be instituted, Famagusta being made the sole port of call for the mail steamer connecting with Egypt. The present mail contract, which expires shortly, provides for a steamer of not less than 1,850 tons, steaming at a speed of not less than twelve knots an hour, to convey mails, passengers, and cargo between the ports of Alexandria and Port Said in Egypt and Famagusta, Larnaca, Limassol, and Paphos in Cyprus, according to a scheduled itinerary laid down in the contract. The large number of ports of call involve numerous

delays, although the arrangement satisfies to some extent the requirements of the various localities. The ideal system would be for a fast, well-equipped steamer to run between Port Said and Famagusta, carrying passengers and perishable cargo, whilst an additional steamer performed the round trip, visiting all the ports and picking up and discharging cargo for and from Egypt. The subsidy required under such an arrangement would, however, at present be very heavy, and no considerable departure from the present system seems practicable for some time. The hill-station of Troodos, five thousand feet above sea-level, situated amongst pine trees and enjoying a cool, pure air in the hottest of summers, forms an admirable sanatorium and a delightful resort for those who wish to avoid the heat of an Egyptian summer. It is mainly the discomfort of the journey, involving a sea-voyage of a day and a night in a small steamer, followed by a hot, weary drive of thirty-five miles up a steep, dusty road, that has prevented this ideal resort from being more largely patronized than it has been. Now that the railway has been extended to the foot of the Troodos hills, and the road to the summit made suitable for motor-cars, the journey from Egypt has lost much of its discomfort, and improved sea communications would diminish it still further. It is not too much to say that the future prosperity of the island depends largely on its communications with Egypt. The latter country has advanced enormously in wealth during recent years, and it forms a splendid market for the produce of Cyprus. Egypt will take all the fruit, vegetables, and live-stock which Cyprus can produce.

The cost of the latest extension of the railway was defrayed from surplus revenues of the island, and the expenditure is likely in time to prove a profitable investment. It has brought the railway within a few miles of the asbestos mines which are being worked by a private company on the slopes of the Troodos hills. Hitherto all the machinery for these mines has been landed at Limassol and transported by road in country carts a distance of forty miles, whilst the output of

the mines has been sent down by the same means to the same port and shipped from there. When the war ends and normal conditions are restored, the asbestos will in all probability be sent over the railway and shipped from Famagusta. The oranges and other fruit which are grown in great quantities in the adjacent valleys, and the timber from the forests, will also follow the same route, and there is every prospect of so large an increase of traffic that it may in the future prove necessary to double-track the line.

A further development which will benefit the railway is the recent grant of a mining lease to an American syndicate to work some copper deposits close to the present terminus of the railway. These deposits were worked by the Romans and probably the Phœnicians before them, and there are traces of their old shafts and galleries; many old coins have been found, and an interesting and almost perfectly preserved old Roman ladder was recently found embedded in the soil. Most of the more valuable ore has been worked out, but a large deposit of low-grade ore exists, which contains certain valuable by-products in addition to the copper. The problem of profitable working depends mainly on economy in transporting the mineral to England, and in order to reduce the cost of transportation to the lowest possible figure a light railway line has been constructed from the mine to the nearest point on the coast, where it is the intention of the company to construct a pier from which the ore can be discharged direct from the trucks into the ship's hold. The outbreak of war just as the line was being completed has unfortunately prevented the export of mineral and suspended for the time being the work of the company, but with the cessation of hostilities an energetic resumption of mining and the completion of the arrangements for transportation may be expected.

With regard to interior communications, the twenty-six miles of road which were all that existed in the island at the time of the British occupation have now been increased to nearly eight hundred, and in addition there are upward of

a thousand miles of secondary roads, making a total of nearly two thousand miles over which wheeled traffic is possible. The eight hundred miles of main roads are maintained by Government at an annual cost of £11,000, whilst £3,000 is allotted each year for the improvement of the remaining roads, which are maintained to a great extent by village labour provided under a law passed in 1900, obliging every able-bodied villager to give six days' labour annually to whatever road or other work of public utility is decided upon by the Village Committee or local authority. The island has, in fact, been covered since the British occupation by a complete network of roads, and more than two thousand bridges and culverts have been constructed.

Of the main roads, over three hundred miles are already fit for motor traffic in all weathers, and the remainder are being rapidly improved. In 1911 a contract was entered into by the Government with a private company for the conveyance of mails daily between Nicosia, Larnaca, and Limassol by motor-cars fitted for passenger accommodation, and by this means the journey from Limassol to Nicosia, which had up till then involved a long and tedious journey of some twelve hours in a carriage, was reduced to one of about five hours. There is no doubt that the development of motor traffic in the island is the solution of a number of problems. The western district, with its chief town of Paphos, has long felt itself cut off from the rest of the island owing to the long distance—over a hundred miles—which separates that town from the capital, and the bad state of repair of the roads, parts of which during the winter rains were almost impassable. A considerable sum of money has recently been devoted by Government to improving the road between Limassol and Paphos. Several diversions have been made to avoid the steep gradients with their hairpin turns which existed in the old road, which was merely constructed along the track of old foot-paths instead of being properly laid out after a careful survey of the terrain. A further sum of money has been devoted to the improvement

of the road connecting Troodos with Limassol, which is being converted into a well-graded and properly foundationed and metalled highway, fit for rapid motor traffic in all weathers. When these works have been completed, and the motor mail service extended from Limassol to Paphos, thus enabling the journey between the latter town and Nicosia to be performed with ease in a day, the communications of the island will be greatly improved, and commerce will receive a considerable impetus.

It is possible that a small branch of the railway running from the neighbourhood of Famagusta to a point at the base of the Carpas peninsula, and connecting with the road running to the extremity of the peninsula (which would require improvement, so as to fit it for motor transport) would be of material advantage by enabling the valuable produce of the Carpas to be brought down cheaply and rapidly to the port of Famagusta. At the same time the improvement of the road running along the north-western coast of the island, from Polis to Morphou, so as to fit it for motor transport, would bring the somewhat lonely and backward district which it traverses into communication with the rest of the island, and act as a feeder to the railway. These are projects which might well be carried out with the surplus funds which are now becoming available. If telegraphic and telephonic communication within the island were at the same time extended and developed Cyprus would be in a position to make the most of her resources, and, with the large Egyptian market at her doors, could hardly fail to make rapid progress in prosperity.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE HELLENIC IDEA.

THERE is a Greek word which figures very largely and is used with peculiar emphasis in many of the leading articles which appear in the Greek newspapers published in Cyprus: it is seldom omitted from the political harangues which the Greek Cypriot loves to deliver on every possible occasion: it is to be heard in the Greek Orthodox churches, in the sermons preached on the occasion of each national festival: clubs endeavour to obtain members, and newspapers subscribers by adopting the word as their official designation: and it is to be found in practically every one of the many Memorials which have been submitted from time to time by the leaders of the Greek community in Cyprus either to the local or to the Imperial Government. The word in question is "ENOSIS," meaning "Union," and it is used to designate the political aspiration for the union of Cyprus with the Kingdom of Greece which is professed by a large portion of the Christian population of the island.

This political aspiration dates back from before the time of the British occupation; but it received a considerable impetus from that event, since the Turkish domination was thereby partially removed from the island. When Sir Garnet Wolseley landed at Larnaca in 1878 he was waited upon by a Greek deputation headed by the Archbishop, who, in the course of an address welcoming him to the island, used these words: "We accept the change of Government inasmuch as we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as it did the Ionian Islands, to be united with Mother Greece, with which it is nationally connected." In a Memorial presented to Mr.

Winston Churchill when, as Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, he visited Cyprus in 1907, the Greek members of the Legislative Council proclaimed their national aspirations in the following words :

“ The Cypriot people has solemnly declared its glorious descent and strong national aspirations to the magnanimous English nation from the first day of the British occupation through the mouth of its highest ecclesiastical chief, and has never ceased since declaring publicly on every occasion given by various Memorials to the Home Government and through its Representatives in the Legislative Council.

“ In expressing this desire to-day with greatest joy and sacred enthusiasm for the last time, as we venture to hope, we must above all declare that the Cypriot people unhesitatingly believes its realization as the only basis and inexhaustible source of its true prosperity and as the only final goal of its historical career, from which no interest and no power either moral or material can ever possibly keep it away.

“ We confidently expect the realization of this desire as soon as possible from the magnanimous English nation, which, continuing its liberal traditions, as formerly in the Ionian Islands, and adding another immortal page to its glorious history, and attracting the eternal gratitude not only of the people of Cyprus, but of all Hellenism all over the world, will restore this island to whom it belongs, viz. : to the beloved Mother Greece, in the bosom of which only will it enjoy the blessings of liberty on which every people has imprescriptible rights, and especially a people by reason of descent, language, religion, and civilization, forming as it does an integral part of the immortal Greek race, which has born and promoted civilization and developed humanity.”\*

On what grounds is this claim of a section of the community based ? Neither on historical nor on geographical grounds would there seem to be any real connection between Cyprus

\* Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus,—C, 3396 (1908).

and modern Greece. A usually well-informed English newspaper, dealing in 1912 with the question, which had come into some temporary prominence owing to certain incidents which had taken place in Cyprus, referred to it as the question of "the return" of Cyprus to Greece. The expression is wholly inaccurate, as will be seen from the historical sketch given in Chapter II. Cyprus has belonged in the past to Egypt, to Persia, to Assyria, to Rome, to Venice, to Genoa, to the Ottoman Empire, but never to Greece. Nor can it, by the widest stretch of imagination, be said to form geographically one of the Greek islands.

On national grounds the case is stronger. The people inhabiting the island when the Egyptians invaded and conquered it, and when the Phœnicians colonized it, were, as has been shown, in all probability of Javanian or Ionian origin, and repeated immigrations from Greece took place before the Christian era. The present Greek-speaking population is of mixed blood, and contains in its veins the blood of all the nations which from time to time conquered and colonized it. But that the Greek element has proved by far the strongest and most enduring is beyond doubt: the Greek tongue has alone survived, and with it the Greek traditions have descended, and have obliterated all others. The Greek-speaking inhabitants have learnt through their language to venerate the memory of ancient Greece and the glories of the Greek age, and to regard themselves as the lineal descendants of the race of heroes, philosophers and sculptors whose matchless contribution to modern civilization is recognized by the whole world.

That a people should be infused with ancient and noble traditions, and that its children should be educated to regard such traditions as a precious heritage, is nothing but good; ideals are powerful factors in the development of the human race. But national aspirations are wont at times to clash with political realities, and the practical idealist is not infrequently obliged to revise his idealism in the light of material considerations.

Cyprus passed three hundred years ago to the Ottoman Empire by right of conquest, and in handing over to Great Britain, nearly forty years ago, the administration of the island, Turkey in no way abrogated her sovereignty over it. England was debarred by treaty obligations from tampering with the rights of the Porte in respect of the island, even had she wished to do so, and this was the unanswerable and consistent reply to all the representations of the Greek-speaking community. "I think it only natural," wrote Mr. Winston Churchill in 1907, "that the Cypriot people, who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what may be called their mother-country as an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly, and fervently cherished. Such a feeling is an example of the patriotic devotion which so nobly characterizes the Greek nation; and while I trust that those who feel so earnestly themselves will not forget that they must show respect for the similar feelings of others, I say that the views which have been put forward are opinions which His Majesty's Government do not refuse to regard with respect. On the other hand, the opinion held by the Moslem population of the island, that the British occupation of Cyprus should not lead to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and that the mission of Great Britain in the Levant should not be to impair the sovereignty of the Sultan, is one which His Majesty's Government are equally bound to regard with respect." \*

The annexation of the island by Great Britain on the outbreak of war with Turkey in 1914 caused an important change in the situation, and left England free to do with Cyprus what she would. The following year Cyprus was offered to Greece on certain conditions. The offer was refused, and lapsed. But the incident showed that England was prepared to recognize that on national grounds the claims put forward by the Greek-speaking Cypriots that the island should be united with Greece were not considered unjustifiable. Yet there remains the fact that a quarter of the population of the island consists of Turks

\* Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus.—C. 3396 (1908).

who have been established there for centuries, who have owned and tilled a large portion of the soil, and who have been consistently loyal to the British *régime* ever since the occupation in 1878, and who are bitterly hostile to the mere idea of becoming subject to Greek domination. This minority has its rights, and is entitled to a voice in the selection of the Government under which it desires to live. The Turks in Cyprus have repeatedly protested against any idea of handing the island over to the Greek Government, and have declared that such an action would "bring about their ruin." \* They have resisted in the Legislative Council and elsewhere any measure tending in their opinion in the remotest or most indirect way to substitute Greek for British domination. The Greek community has never denied the existence amongst the Turks in Cyprus of the strongest feelings in regard to this matter, but they assert that, since the Moslem element forms a comparatively small portion of the population, it has no right to interfere with the political aspirations of the majority. Their attitude is expressed in the following words used in the Memorial to Mr. Winston Churchill already quoted :—

"The recognition and fulfilment of the historical national right of the Cyprus Hellenes, the small Mahomedan minority might disapprove, actuated, no doubt, by religious rather than racial feeling : but its numerical existence in the island is not so strong as to entitle it to dispose of the national fate of this most Hellenic island, nor can it be alleged that its real activity in civilizing and economical progress is possessed of any significance. Trade, Science, Arts, Letters, Industry, and every work connected with mental or economical progress are almost exclusively exercised by the Cyprus Hellenes.

"It would be a great injustice to the cohabiting majority and a flagrant denial of the sacred right of nationalities, were it hampered by a small alien minority from its highest national rights and the fulfilment of its great mission. The Mahomedan

\* Telegram from Turkish notables to the High Commissioner, April 12, 1881.—Parliamentary Paper C. 2930.

minority will not be prejudiced by following the national fate of the Hellenic majority ; but, on the contrary, will in a good many respects be benefited, as the Hellenic race has practically exhibited a remarkable religious tolerance and a tendency to communicate its own blessings to the foreign races, from the remotest years up to to-day, as in Thessaly, Epirus, Crete, and elsewhere."

It may be pertinent to enquire whether the clamour for annexation to Greece represents the spontaneous desire of the masses to live under a Greek rather than a British administration, or whether it is merely due to an ambition on the part of a small, but vociferous, educated class. The question is a difficult one to answer, and even those who have spent many years in the island and moved freely amongst the people may well hesitate to attempt it. It is extremely doubtful whether in any country the mass of the population, whose horizon is bounded by the necessity for satisfying its material wants, is ever deeply stirred by any political considerations save the desire for good government which will ensure them protection, security from oppression, and as light and equitable taxation as possible. It is inefficient and unjust administration which breeds the desire for a change of government, not political aspirations. One of the greatest of our modern historians expresses somewhat the same idea in the following words : " It may be remarked that the mere passion for freedom in the abstract has never produced a great popular movement. Long habit has made Englishmen, Swiss, and Americans think liberty essential to national happiness ; yet liberty has, in general, been desired rather as a means than as an end ; and there must always exist, in order to rouse a nation to disaffection or insurrection, either such a withdrawal of rights previously enjoyed as wound its pride and its conservative feeling, or else the infliction by the governing power of positive evils which affect the subject in his daily life, his religion, his social and domestic relations." \* The Cypriot in 1878 exchanged an

\* Lord Bryce in " The Holy Roman Empire."

admittedly inefficient and oppressive administration for an unquestionably efficient and liberal one, and the peasant has, since then, acquired a prosperity and a material improvement in the conditions of his daily life which he can and does appreciate. But it would be absurd to suppose that material comfort is the sole ambition of even the most backward and ignorant people, and the higher a people progresses in the scale of civilization the wider become its desires. The government of a people by a race alien in language, religion, ideas, and social standards can manifestly never be as desirable as an equally efficient government carried on by persons who speak the same language, profess the same religion, embrace the same ideas, and conform to the same social standards. Even if the latter be considerably less efficient it will nevertheless be preferred, and only if it proves oppressive or mischievous will the idea of alien domination be welcomed or entertained.

It has been asserted that the Cypriot would prefer to live under the domination of a rich Power rather than under that of a small and poor one. Mr. Chamberlain used this argument in a speech made in the House of Commons in 1902, and the following reply was made by the Greek deputies in a Memorial, already quoted, dealing with the speech in question:—

“What has above all affected most deeply the Greek population of Cyprus is the statement made by you in Parliament to the effect that the cession of Cyprus to Greece would not meet with our general approval, and further that most of us would prefer to be governed by a rich Government than be annexed to a poor State.

“This latter insinuation has touched the most sensitive chord of the heart of the Greek Cypriotes, who felt themselves offended to the inmost, as the casting of a doubt on the genuine and general aspirations of the Greek Cypriotes for their union with Mother Greece constitutes the greatest insult against them. It was, therefore, but natural that as soon as the Greek population of Cyprus took cognizance of the statement made by you officially in Parliament, they rose in one body in

order to protest strongly and declare for the thousandth time in the presence of the whole civilized world that their ardent and inextinguishable desire is to be united with Greece, in the same way as it is the desire of the whole enthralled Hellenism. And we beg to submit on our behalf and on behalf of every educated Cypriote that we heard this insinuation with the same equanimity as one who would hear his own individuality doubted by another. Should the authorities like to put to the test this genuine desire, they have but to ask the opinion of the Greek people of Cyprus and they will get as many affirmative replies as there are Greek Cypriotes in the island.

“ If obstacles beyond our control prevent the approachment of the blessed day of our union, we consider, nevertheless, that our national feelings and aspirations deserved greater respect by our rulers. It is true that the people of Cyprus are poor and small in number, but it must not be forgotten that in spite of its smallness it has contributed to the propagation of civilization in Europe, and it has shown itself a hero for the preservation of its own nationality. It is a well-known fact that the Christian civilization was transmitted from Asia to Europe through Cyprus, and that the people of Cyprus are worthy of the estimation and admiration of the world for having preserved their language, their religion, and their national conscience so vividly through many centuries of servitude and persecution, and that as soon as the muzzle of servitude has been relaxed since the English occupation of Cyprus, the first phrase that came out of their breast was their desire for their union with Mother Greece.

“ You are aware, we hope, that as soon as the Turkish flag was hauled down and the English flag hoisted up in its stead, the late Archbishop of Cyprus, Sophronius, in greeting the English Governor, said :

“ ‘ We accept the change of Government inasmuch as we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as it did the Ionian Islands, to be united with Mother Greece, with which it is nationally connected.’

" These words have been said on behalf of the whole Greek population of Cyprus through their primate immediately after the occupation, and ever since the same population has never lost an opportunity to declare openly that neither the riches of their protectrix dazzles them nor the poverty of Greece frightens them, but that their only wish and their only dream is their union with Greece, which they anticipate as soon as possible from the great and magnanimous English nation."

There is nothing whatever to show that the Cypriot peasantry is discontented under British rule : on the contrary, there is every evidence that the reverse is the case. On the other hand, it would be futile to deny that the educated Greeks in the island are sentimentally enthusiastic with regard to their Hellenic aspirations, and find a ready support amongst their co-religionists in the towns and villages. Opinion amongst the former is divided as to the benefits which they think would accrue if the British were replaced by a Greek administration. Some candidly admit that they believe that the material prosperity of the island would be adversely affected by the change, although they consider that the moral and spiritual results would more than compensate for any such material disability. Other more sanguine enthusiasts maintain that the island can never fulfil its destiny under alien domination : that it would be more economically administered if Greek were the sole official language and if the Government were carried on by Cypriot officials, with perhaps a few Greek officials filling some of the higher posts.

Herein lies in all probability the real driving force of the agitation and the propaganda which sustains it. There is a bitter feeling that all the higher posts in the island are given to Englishmen and that the educated Cypriot has little or no voice in the government of the island. Elected members of the Legislative Council may come to the capital once a year and make speeches and pass resolutions, but the whole machinery of government and the whole executive is British to the core, and shows no sign at present of ever being any-

thing else. The clerical and subordinate posts in the island may be, and are, held by Cypriots, but every head of department is an Englishman. Government is carried on through the medium of interpreters, and there is hardly an English official to whom the villager can speak in his own tongue, for few Englishmen take the trouble to learn Greek or Turkish so as to be able to converse freely in those languages.

The objections to the present *régime* thus stated are very clear, and a remedy would not be far to seek if the population of Cyprus were racially homogeneous. Unfortunately, however, as we have seen, a quarter of the population is neither Greek nor Christian, but Turkish and Moslem, and thus separated from the remainder by the most marked difference in race and creed. The hostility of the Moslem Turk towards Greek domination is infinitely more deep-seated than any feeling of the Greek Christians towards British rule. It has already been remarked that the Turkish community has been unflinchingly loyal to the British administration since the occupation, and even since war broke out between the Ottoman Empire and England the Turks in Cyprus, although naturally sympathizing with the struggles of their compatriots outside the island, have remained loyal and law-abiding subjects of the British Empire. It is mainly because of the fierce objections of the Turkish community in Cyprus to be placed under Greeks that the principal Government posts in the island have been filled by Englishmen; and it is the existence of nearly sixty thousand Turks—now British subjects—in the island which constitutes a serious factor in the consideration of any scheme for handing Cyprus over to the Hellenic Government.

Uncertainty as to the future of the island has been the most unfortunate of all the causes which have adversely affected Cyprus during the past forty years. Until the annexation in 1914, Cyprus was only provisionally administered by England, and by the terms of the Convention was to be returned to Turkey should certain eventualities arise; and although as

the years passed it became more and more unlikely that a return of the island to Turkey would ever take place, the Convention remained a constant reminder that the English occupation was merely provisional and conditioned. The Greek community in Cyprus has been again and again informed in reply to communications made by them that no change in the political status of the island was contemplated,\* but the fact that such declarations were from time to time necessary is proof of the uncertainty which reigned. Since the annexation in 1914, and the offer of Cyprus to Greece in 1915, the uncertainty has still further increased, and it forms a disturbing element not only in the island but amongst foreigners who may be inclined to make investments or establish business relations in Cyprus. A declaration that Cyprus is to remain definitely a part of the British Empire would be received enthusiastically by the Turkish community and philosophically by the great majority of the Greeks, who naturally devote all their energies towards insisting on their demands so long as any uncertainty exists. The matter will, no doubt, come up for consideration at the close of hostilities: Cyprus is one of a score of geographical entities in the Near East which are peopled by mixed races, and no Utopia can even be conceived which would confer on these places a form of government satisfactory to all the inhabitants. It is not sufficient to say that the minority, if dissatisfied, might go elsewhere: even safeguards providing for their being adequately represented in any form of government which might be adopted would be only a palliative, for when it becomes a question of counting heads a minority has little assurance of being able to protect itself against a majority and has every prospect of remaining hopelessly submerged and politically impotent.

It is difficult for anyone who has lived in Cyprus and mixed

\* Thus in 1881 there were rumours that Cyprus had been offered to Greece, and telegrams of thanks were sent by a number of Greek Cypriots to Mr. Gladstone, who replied that Cyprus was held by England as a part of the Ottoman Empire under the Convention with the Porte, and that "proposals which would be a violation of that Convention cannot be discussed."—Parliamentary Paper C. 2730.

freely with the people to resist the conclusion that the clamour for " Union with Greece " on the part of the Greek-speaking community arises less from an ambition to exchange British domination for that of Greece than from a desire that the administration should be conducted in their own language by officials for the most part sharing their ways of thought and used to the same social standards. The English officials in the island hold aloof from the rest of the community, partly owing to their ignorance of the language, partly by reason of the difference in social standards and customs. It must be admitted that there is amongst the majority of English officials a spirit which can best be expressed by the Greek word *ὑβρις*, a kind of contemptuous arrogance, which forms a barrier greatly resented by the educated Cypriots, from whom the elected members of the Legislative Council are drawn. This attitude is by no means unknown in other parts of the British Empire, and is no less deplorable because it is for the most part unconscious. The Englishman is incorrigibly insular, and the characteristic is more apparent when he leaves his island than when he remains in it. The educated Cypriot when he visits England is treated with deference, courtesy, and sympathy, and is received everywhere on terms of complete social equality ; it is not surprising that when he returns to Cyprus and experiences once more the barrier which exists between the English community there and his fellow-Cypriots he is filled with angry resentment and joins whole-heartedly in the cry for union with Greece.

As soon as the time comes, as come it must, when Cypriots are admitted to important posts under Government, the barrier which now exists between them and the English community will begin to disappear. But so long as it remains, " ENOSIS " will continue to be the gospel of the educated Cypriot, preached to the peasant, encouraged in the schools, and given daily prominence in all the Greek newspapers.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### ANNEXATION IN 1914, AND CONCLUDING REMARKS.

ON November 5, 1914, war broke out between England and Turkey, and the same day the island of Cyprus was formally annexed to the British Empire. The following Order by His Majesty the King in Council was issued, and copies in all three languages were posted up in all the principal places throughout the island :—

#### ORDER IN COUNCIL BY THE KING.

Whereas, by virtue of the Convention of defensive alliance between Her Majesty Queen Victoria and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan signed on June 4, 1878, the Annex to the said Convention signed on July 1, 1878, and the Agreement signed on behalf of Her Majesty and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan on August 14, 1878, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan assigned the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England upon the terms and conditions specified in the said Convention, Annex, and Agreement :

And whereas, by reason of the outbreak of war between His Majesty and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, the said Convention, Annex, and Agreement have become annulled, and are no longer of any force or effect :

And whereas it has, for the reasons hereinbefore appearing, seemed expedient to His Majesty that the said island should be annexed to and should form part of His Majesty's Dominions, in order that proper provision may be made for the government and protection of the said island.

Now, therefore, His Majesty is pleased by and with the advice

of His Privy Council, to order and it is hereby ordered as follows :—

1. From and after the date hereof the said island shall be annexed to and form part of His Majesty's Dominions, and the said island is annexed accordingly.

2. Nothing in this order shall affect the validity of any instructions issued by His Majesty under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet to the High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of Cyprus, or of any Order in Council affecting Cyprus, or of any law or proclamation passed or issued under any such instructions or order, or of any act or thing done under any such instructions, law, or proclamation, save in so far as any such Order in Council, law or proclamation may be repugnant to the provisions of any Act of Parliament which may, by reason of the annexation hereby declared, become extended to Cyprus, or to any order or regulation made under the authority of any such Act or having in Cyprus the force and effect of any such Act.

3. His Majesty may from time to time revoke, alter, add to, or amend this order.

4. This order may be cited as the Cyprus (Annexation) Order in Council, 1914.

And the Right Honourable Lewis Harcourt, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

Dated November 5, 1914.

With this Order was published a proclamation by the High Commissioner of Cyprus to the following effect :—

“ Ottoman subjects born in Cyprus and now resident in Cyprus are British subjects. Ottoman subjects not born in Cyprus who are now resident in Cyprus are allowed one year from the date of this Proclamation within which to leave Cyprus. Ottoman subjects mentioned in this paragraph who do not leave Cyprus within the said period of one year will on the expiration of the said period be British subjects.”

This proclamation was subsequently replaced by another extending to all Ottoman subjects resident in Cyprus on November 5, 1914, whether born in the island or not, the status of British subjects, but providing that any Ottoman subject desirous of retaining his Ottoman nationality should, within one month of the date of the proclamation, submit in writing to the High Commissioner a statement declaring such desire, in which case he would be permitted to retain his nationality, but would be required to leave the island within a specified time. There is some ambiguity attached to the exact meaning of the word "resident," and care will be necessary that the advantages of British nationality are not obtained by the terms of this proclamation by Syrians and other Ottoman subjects who were temporarily resident in Cyprus on the date of annexation, though having no real connection with the island.

The annexation of the island was hailed with delight by the Christian community, who welcomed the final disappearance from the island of Turkish sovereignty. The Turkish element received the news with Oriental resignation; the majority of the Turks in fact disapproved whole-heartedly of the policy which had led the Ottoman Government to join Germany and Austria in the war, and accepted without demur their new status as British subjects. Only about a dozen Ottoman subjects made application to retain their nationality, and these were all either temporary residents from Ottoman territory or visitors to the island: no Cypriot Ottoman subjects applied, and all therefore became British subjects.

How far has England fulfilled the expectations aroused in 1878, when she assumed control of the administration of Cyprus? Broadly speaking, it may be said that by reducing and simplifying the taxation, by introducing an extremely just and impartial administration, and by enforcing and maintaining law and order, she has greatly ameliorated the lot of the peasantry and of the people generally, and has rendered material progress possible. To produce these results and to

evolve order out of the chaos which prevailed in 1878 the services of a trained bureaucracy were necessary. The financial position was such that a rigid economy and a careful husbanding of resources were imperative, and they were enforced with firmness. The smallest item of expenditure proposed by the local Government was subjected first to careful scrutiny at the hands of the Colonial Office, and then to an even more careful scrutiny at the hands of the Treasury. Cyprus affairs were in fact managed by an efficient and conscientious bureaucracy, and if the island suffered from the evils inherent in bureaucratic government it secured all the undoubted advantages of the latter, as the flourishing condition of its finances now shows. This is hardly the place to discuss the virtues or vices of a bureaucratic system of government; like most other things bureaucracy has the defects of its qualities. Its machinery, when efficient, is an almost unqualified asset in the administration of a community at a certain stage of its development; its elaborate system of check and counter-check prevents any hasty and ill-considered measures from being adopted, whilst the public funds are safeguarded from expenditure on unwise or unnecessary projects; and its respect for precedent ensures that no violent departure from the general scheme of administration will be made. But this very respect for precedent acts as an obstacle to progress. The habit of referring every question that arises to some similar question which arose possibly years before, and of lengthy cogitation over opinions expressed long ago by other persons, not only precludes the fresh and untrammelled consideration of the subject but atrophies the thinking powers of those whose duty it is to arrive at a decision. It follows that, no matter how circumstances may change, the tendency will be towards unenlightened conservatism, if not reaction. The more efficient the system the more pronounced will be the conservatism. It is, unfortunately, the essence of a machine to be mechanical: an office which devotes its energies mainly to preserving, filing, docketing, indexing, and pigeon-holing

its records will inevitably tend in the main merely to preserve continuity and to maintain everything as it has been in the past, and will endeavour to avoid the consideration of new problems or the reconsideration of old ones, even though they may have been materially affected by a change of circumstances or conditions.

The Colonial Office is a vast bureaucracy with ramifications extending into every corner of the Empire. The staff is by no means large ; it is exceedingly efficient and conscientious, recruited from the cream of our public schools and universities. But the atmosphere of Downing Street is hardly conducive to imaginative thinking. " A man who mechanically manipulates dead matter in however ingenious a way," writes an authority on education, " is by that very fact cut off from the direct human sympathy that is roused by occupations that imply something connected with life." Is the constant reading and writing of despatches, the study of files and blue-books and ever-ready reference to the card index anything but the manipulation of dead matter ? Small wonder that the tendency in a Government office is to treat all questions by a reference to " previous papers " and veto anything which seems to entail a departure from precedent.\* Nor is it surprising that the type of Colonial administrator most in favour at Downing Street is one who may be trusted to propose no startling new departure, make no important innovations, and nurse the expenditure of the colony with unimpeachable economy ; who writes well-phrased despatches garnished with copious explanatory enclosures, and has the Colonial Regulations at his finger ends. The natural result is that the local administration in

\* The following incident illustrates this tendency very clearly : A Cyprus official, Z, arrived in England on leave at a time when there was some unrest in Cyprus and the Greek deputies were raising various complicated questions and making numerous demands for constitutional and other changes. In accordance with custom he reported himself at the Colonial Office, and was duly received by the official X, who was in immediate charge of the branch dealing with Cyprus affairs. " I am afraid," said Z, " that Cyprus affairs have been giving you a good deal of trouble lately." " Not at all, not at all," replied X, airily. " All these things have happened before, and we have nothing to do but look up our files of fifteen or twenty years ago, and reply accordingly ! "

each colony endeavours to conform to these ideals, bases its policy on previous rulings, and devotes its attention to carrying out to the letter every instruction contained in "Colonial Regulations," submitting its returns and reports punctually and in exact accordance with precedent, and above all cultivating a fluent style in despatch-writing. The policy of such an administration will be marked by extreme conservatism, caution, and readiness to adapt itself to the Colonial Office points of view.

This has been in the main the trend of administration in Cyprus since it came under the Colonial Office in 1881. The tendency in the island has been to excessive centralization at head-quarters; not a sparrow can fall to the ground without a report of the circumstances—probably in triplicate—eventually appearing on the table of the Chief Secretary to the Government, and being submitted to the High Commissioner for his information; it is then in all probability forwarded to the Treasurer for advice as to the vote to which the financial expenses should be charged and to the legal adviser to know whether a charge lies against any individual under the Ottoman Penal Code. It will be lucky if long correspondence does not ensue between the Treasury and the District Commissioner regarding the amount paid for the obsequies. In the same way heads of technical Departments like the Forests, Public Works, and Agriculture are kept chained to their desks, making out returns and replying to accounting queries, when they would be far better employed outside their offices. The manager of the Stock Farm will be forced to spend valuable time answering queries from the Audit Department regarding the deficiency of eggs shown on the ledger compared with the number found in the incubators, and explaining that this is due, not to fraud, but to a natural phenomenon which has turned the eggs into chickens. All these things are the necessary concomitant of excess of zeal on the part of a bureaucracy, but they are sad waste of time, and a sprinkling of some common sense would do away with many of the existing

absurdities. The whole time of responsible officials is taken up with trivial and petty details of routine which both exhaust and exasperate those who endeavour to devote their energies to constructive and progressive measures for the reform of the educational system, the encouragement of trade and industries, the improvement of agriculture and stock-raising, the development of harbours, railways, roads, telegraphs, and water supplies, the provision of capital on easy terms to small farmers and traders, and other practical matters of a similar nature. The type of Governor required in a Crown Colony like Cyprus is not the efficient and unimaginative office-tied bureaucrat, but a man of the world, with wide human sympathies, broad views, and a shrewd and practical mind, capable of approaching business propositions from a business point of view. He should be served by an efficient secretariat, which, by relieving him of the mass of petty details of administrative machinery, would enable him to devote his mind and energy to the broader questions of administration and development instead of being obliged to waste them on insignificant questions which can be quite adequately dealt with by his subordinates. It is not only waste of energy to use a forty ton hammer to crack nuts, but it prevents the other far more important work for which it was intended from being done at all.

The financial arrangement made in 1910 by which the island was finally freed from Treasury control was of immense benefit, if only because it put an end to a vast amount of correspondence and irritating interference on the part of over-conscientious Treasury officials, who considered that a day spent in questioning the expenditure of half-a-crown was a day well spent. At the same time, Cyprus was at last in possession of surplus revenues. The island up to the year 1907 may be compared to a young man whose necessary expenses exceed his income, and who receives from his father at the end of each year the exact sum required to make good the deficit. Obviously if such a person is given a fixed and regular allowance by his

father he can by the practice of rigid economy and the exercise of skill and foresight save each year a substantial sum which he can devote to improving his earning capacity and adding to the comfort of himself and his dependents. Just such an advantage was obtained by Cyprus when the system of a fixed grant-in-aid was introduced by the Imperial Government, and the result has provided proof of the unwisdom of retaining the old system for so many years.

One more factor must be mentioned which has delayed progress in Cyprus. Most of the Crown Colonies of Great Britain are situated in the tropics, where climatic conditions are unfavourable to the health of the English official. Cyprus almost alone enjoys a climate where officials and their wives can live and bring up their children in comparative health and comfort. Hence the island has been looked upon by the Colonial Office as a kind of sanatorium where officials whose health has been impaired by long service in tropical climates can be sent. This speaks well for the humanity of the Colonial Office, but it has not reacted altogether favourably on Cyprus. It is not to the advantage of any service to be recruited largely from amongst officials physically affected by work in unhealthy localities rather than by young and energetic men in the prime of life. Officials transferred to Cyprus from elsewhere at an age when they are no longer young cannot be expected to learn the language or accommodate themselves easily to new conditions. No doubt there is another side to the question, and the experience brought by officials from other colonies is an asset which must not be overlooked. But in the case especially of District Commissioners, whose duty lies in moving about amongst the villagers and ascertaining their needs, it is obvious that young and energetic men, open to new impressions, are more suitable than older men, whose best work is behind them. In the early days District Commissioners were of the former type ; but as time went on these officials grew older, not younger : some remained in their posts for thirty years and more, whilst others were moved elsewhere and their place

filled in many cases by men who had already passed the prime of life in other colonies, and were neither physically nor mentally suited to the kind of work they were called upon to perform. The pay was small, the chance of further promotion negligible, and in such circumstances the zeal and energy to be expected could not be great; yet zeal, energy, and adaptability were just the qualities most necessary.

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that either an over-bureaucratic Government or an indifferent choice of officials are altogether responsible for the lack of progress which has characterized Cyprus during the past forty years. The people themselves have failed to exhibit the qualities that make for progress. Instead of endeavouring to better their own condition they have relied too much on the Government, and contented themselves with criticism, instead of combining to think out constructive reforms and submit practical schemes to Government. No doubt the habit of writing petitions to Government on every conceivable subject is due to the Turkish system which encouraged such a practice, and it is chiefly confined to the peasantry. The absolute dependence of the Cypriot on the Government is indicated in a more important manner by the failure of the commercial or other sections of the community to form any sort of combination for the purpose of co-operation or for bringing to the notice of the Government affairs connected with their particular interests. No kind of Chamber of Commerce exists in the island. Each merchant pursues his own separate interests and enters into competition with every other merchant: as a result, no combined movement has ever been set on foot for advancing the trade of the island, and the Government has no corporate body to which it can turn for advice on any commercial question. The Greeks are ready enough to form committees and organizations for political ends and to discuss political questions and pen elaborate Memorials *ad nauseam*, but they seem unable to co-operate for practical purposes affecting the welfare of the community or of special sections of it, and the Government

is expected to do everything without any assistance except what may be afforded by the somewhat carping criticism conveyed in florid speeches mainly composed of political diatribes. The views of Herbert Spencer regarding the functions of Government are nowadays somewhat discredited, though his description of the State-agency as "a cluster of men, a few clever, many ordinary, and some decidedly stupid," is a perfectly fair description of the average Government. John Stuart Mill, in a well-known passage, declared that "management by hired servants who have no interest in the result but that of preserving their salaries is proverbially inefficient. The inferiority of government-agency, for example, in any of the common positions of industry or commerce, is proved by the fact that it is hardly ever able to maintain itself in equal competition with individual agency when the individuals possess the requisite degree of industrial enterprise and can command the necessary assemblage of means. All the facilities which a Government enjoys of access to information, all the means which it possesses of remunerating and, therefore, of commanding the best available talent in the market, are not an equivalent for the one great disadvantage of an inferior interest in the result." \* But no matter how great may be the shortcomings of State-agency there can be no question but that a failure on the part of private enterprise to come forward with suggestions and constructive criticisms to aid the Government in its activities must render its task more difficult and its performance less efficient. Hence the Cypriot, through his failure in this respect, must bear a large part of any blame which may be imputed to the island for tardiness in its rate of progress.

Critics of the Government may point to the apparent failure of the railway, harbour, and irrigation schemes to provide an adequate return on the capital expended; but such private enterprises as have been from time to time undertaken in Cyprus can show little better results. Money invested in mining

\* John Stuart Mill, "Political Economy."

operations, motor transport schemes, shipping ventures, the grafting of fruit trees, and other enterprises in the island has too often failed to produce any dividend, the companies concerned ending in liquidation. Usually the Government has been blamed : it has been accused of imposing irritable restrictions on, or failing to give support to, many of these enterprises. The shareholders in fact are told that the failure of the enterprise is due to the inaction or alternately to the interference of the Government—*jolie hypothèse qui explique tant de choses !* In reality it has been more often the innate conservatism and inertia of the Cypriot, who has refused to adopt new contrivances or alter his mode of living and conducting his affairs. The Government has for this reason probably been justified in proceeding cautiously with innovations and in pursuing an unheroic but careful policy : in any case, there was not the money to expend on schemes which were likely to be carried on at a loss until such time as the people had begun to realize and avail themselves of their benefits. Looking back on the past thirty years, it is apparent that the necessity for stringent economy has been the chief cause of any inaction of which the Government can be accused, and this brings us back to the question of the "tribute," which has already been fully discussed. On the whole, it may be said that progress has been slow, first because of the lack of funds, and secondly because of the lack of initiative on the part of the Cypriots themselves, their want of organization and co-operation, and their innate conservatism. Now that funds are becoming available and the people are better educated and more in touch with the outside world, progress is becoming much more rapid, and leeway is being made up.

The most pressing necessity now is to bring the educated Cypriot into closer touch with the Government of the island. So long as Cyprus formed part of the Ottoman Empire and was merely administered by England, there was some reason for entrusting the government to a clique of British officials, subject to such criticism and control as might be exercised by

the elected members in the Legislative Council. But now that the island has become part of the British Empire it is time to consider whether the Cypriot should not be given a more direct share in the administration. It would not perhaps be advisable yet to appoint Cypriots to the post of District Commissioner ; but there is no reason why such Departments as the Post Office or Land Registry Office should not be entrusted to Cypriots who have had a training in those or other branches of the administration. Jealousy will no doubt continue to exist between the different elements of the population, but this must always be the case in mixed communities and is familiar enough in India and elsewhere. Once the principle of admitting Cypriots to the higher administrative posts is conceded, its practical application might proceed slowly and tentatively as opportunity offered. It is not enough for the educated Cypriot who has travelled in other countries and received part of his education in European centres to become a member of the Legislative Council, where he can merely express his ideas in debate once a year during a period of a few weeks. He desires to devote his talents and energies to the affairs of the island in a much more direct and practical manner, and he has an undoubted claim to do so. A little imagination should make this plain to every Englishman, and, though the quality is uncommon in our race it has been quickened by the war, and one may hope that it may now be used to the benefit of Cyprus. The situation is very different from what it was in 1878, and it is surely preposterous to imagine that the system of administration then introduced, admirable as it was at the time, must be continued unchanged without regard to altered circumstances. *Tempora mutantur*. Let us see to it that the rest of the tag holds good—*et nos mutamur in illis*.

“ New times demand new measures and new men.  
The world moves on : and in due course outgrows  
The laws that in our father's days were best,  
And after we are gone a better scheme  
Will be devised by wiser men than we.”

## APPENDIX I.

*The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.*

SIR,

*Foreign Office, May 30, 1878.*

The progress of the confidential negotiations which have for some time past been in progress between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Russia make it probable that those Articles of the Treaty of San Stefano which concern European Turkey will be sufficiently modified to bring them into harmony with the interests of the other European Powers, and of England in particular.

There is, however, no such prospect with respect to that portion of the Treaty which concerns Turkey in Asia. It is sufficiently manifest that, in respect to Batoum and the fortresses north of the Araxes, the Government of Russia is not prepared to recede from the stipulations to which the Porte has been led by the events of the war to consent. Her Majesty's Government have consequently been forced to consider the effect which these agreements, if they are neither annulled nor counteracted, will have upon the future of the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire and upon the interests of England, which are closely affected by the condition of those provinces.

It is impossible that Her Majesty's Government can look upon these changes with indifference. Asiatic Turkey contains populations of many different races and creeds, possessing no capacity for self-government and no aspirations for independence, but owing their tranquillity and whatever prospect of political well-being they possess entirely to the rule of the Sultan. But the Government of the Ottoman dynasty is that of an ancient but still alien conqueror, resting more upon actual power than upon the sympathies of common nationality. The defeat which the Turkish arms have sustained and the known embarrassments of the Government will produce a general belief in its decadence and an expectation of speedy political change, which in the East are more dangerous than actual discontent to the stability of a Government. If the population of Syria, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia see that the Porte has no guarantee for its continued existence but its own strength, they will, after the evidence which recent events have furnished of the frailty of that reliance, begin to calculate upon the speedy fall of the Ottoman domination, and to turn their eyes towards its successor.

Even if it be certain that Batoum and Ardahan and Kars will not become the base from which emissaries of intrigue will issue forth, to be in due time followed by invading armies, the mere retention of them by Russia will exercise a powerful influence in disintegrating the Asiatic dominion of the Porte. As a monument of feeble defence on the one side, and successful aggression on the other, they will be regarded by the Asiatic population as foreboding the course of political history in the immediate future, and will stimulate, by the combined action of hope and fear, devotion to the Power which is in the ascendant, and desertion of the Power which is thought to be falling into decay.

It is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to accept, without making an effort to avert it, the effect which such a state of feeling would produce upon regions whose political condition deeply concerns the Oriental interests of Great Britain. They do not propose to attempt the accomplishment of this object by taking military measures for the purpose of replacing the conquered districts in the possession of the Porte. Such an undertaking would be arduous and costly, and would involve great calamities, and it would not be effective for the object which Her Majesty's Government has in view, unless subsequently strengthened by precautions which can be taken almost as effectually without incurring the miseries of a preliminary war. The only provision which can furnish a substantial security for the stability of Ottoman rule in Asiatic Turkey, and which would be as essential after the re-conquest of the Russian annexations as it is now, is an engagement, on the part of a Power strong enough to fulfil it, that any further encroachments by Russia upon Turkish territory in Asia will be prevented by force of arms. Such an undertaking, if given fully and unreservedly, will prevent the occurrence of the contingency which would bring it into operation, and will, at

the same time, give to the populations of the Asiatic provinces the requisite confidence that Turkish rule in Asia is not destined to a speedy fall.

There are, however, two conditions which it would be necessary for the Porte to subscribe before England could give such assurance.

Her Majesty's Government intimated to the Porte, on the occasion of the Conference at Constantinople, that they were not prepared to sanction misgovernment and oppression, and it will be requisite, before they can enter into any agreement for the defence of the Asiatic territories of the Porte in certain eventualities, that they should be formally assured of the intention of the Porte to introduce the necessary reforms into the government of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these regions. It is not desirable to require more than an engagement in general terms; for the specific measures to be taken could only be defined after a more careful inquiry and deliberation than could be secured at the present juncture.

It is not impossible that a careful selection and a faithful support of the individual officers to whom power is to be entrusted in those countries would be a more important element in the improvement of the condition of the people than even legislative changes, but the assurances required to give England a right to insist on satisfactory arrangements for these purposes will be an indispensable part of any agreement to which Her Majesty's Government could consent. It will further be necessary, in order to enable Her Majesty's Government efficiently to execute the engagements now proposed, that they should occupy a position near the coast of Asia Minor and Syria. The proximity of British officers, and, if necessary, British troops, will be the best security that all the objects of this agreement shall be attained. The Island of Cyprus appears to them to be in all respects the most available for this object. Her Majesty's Government do not wish to ask the Sultan to alienate territory from his sovereignty, or to diminish the receipts which now pass into his Treasury. They will, therefore, propose that, while the administration and occupation of the island shall be assigned to Her Majesty, the territory shall still continue to be part of the Ottoman Empire, and that the excess of the revenue over the expenditure, whatever it at present may be, shall be paid over annually by the British Government to the Treasury of the Sultan.

Inasmuch as the whole of this proposal is due to the annexations which Russia has made in Asiatic Turkey, and the consequences which it is apprehended will flow therefrom, it must be fully understood that, if the cause of the danger should cease, the precautionary agreement will cease at the same time. If the Government of Russia should at any time surrender to the Porte the territory it has acquired in Asia by the recent war, the stipulations in the proposed agreements will cease to operate, and the island will be immediately evacuated.

I request, therefore, your Excellency to propose to the Porte to agree to a Convention to the following effect, and I have to convey to you full authority to conclude the same on behalf of the Queen and of Her Majesty's Government:

"If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars or any of them shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further portion of the Asiatic territories of the Sultan, as fixed by the definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join the Sultan in defending them by force of arms. In return, the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms (to be agreed upon later between the two Powers) into the government of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories; and, in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England."

I am, &c.,

(Signed) SALISBURY.

## APPENDIX II.

CYPRUS.

No. XIII., 1914.

A LAW enacted by His Excellency the High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Cyprus, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof,

TO PROVIDE FOR THE CONSTITUTION AND CONTROL OF CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES.

[October 9, 1914.

**W**HEREAS it is expedient to encourage thrift, self-help and co-operation among agriculturalists, and for that purpose to provide for the constitution and control of Co-operative Credit Societies.

BE it therefore enacted by His Excellency the High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Cyprus, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows :—

### *Title and Definitions.*

1. This Law may be cited as the Co-operative Credit Societies Law, 1914.
2. In this Law, unless the context otherwise requires :—
  - (a) " Bye-law " means a registered bye-law for the time being in force and includes a registered amendment of the bye-laws.
  - (b) " Committee and Council " mean the governing bodies of a society to which the management of the affairs of such society is entrusted.
  - (c) " Member " includes a person joining in the application for the registration of a society, and a person admitted to membership after registration in accordance with the bye-laws and any rules.
  - (d) " Officer " includes a chairman, secretary, treasurer, member of committee, or other person empowered under the bye-laws to give directions in regard to the business of the society.
  - (e) " Registrar " means a person appointed to perform the duties of Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies under this Law.
  - (f) " Society " means a co-operative credit society registered under this Law.

### *Registration.*

3. The High Commissioner may appoint a person to be Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies under this Law, and may appoint persons to assist such Registrar, and may, by general or special order, confer on any such persons all or any of the powers of a Registrar under this Law.

The Registrar shall have an office in Nicosia.

4. Subject to the provisions hereinafter contained a society consisting of at least twelve persons who are agriculturalists and are above the age of 18 years ; operating within a town, or village, or group of villages within a radius of not more than two miles ; and having for its object the creation of funds by loans from the Government or the Loan Commissioners or otherwise or deposits to be lent to its members ; may be registered under this Law. Provided that the Registrar may if he shall think fit in any particular case extend the said radius of two miles.

5. The words " Co-operative Credit " shall form part of the title of every society.

6. When any question arises whether, for the purposes of this Law, a person is an agriculturalist and a resident in a town or village or group of villages, or whether two or more villages shall be considered to form a group, the question shall be decided by the Registrar whose decision shall be final.

7. A person eligible for admission to membership of a society must (a) be above 18 years of age, (b) reside within the area of the society's operations, (c) possess land therein of not less than 2 donums in extent, (d) be an agriculturalist, (e) not be a member of any other co-operative credit society, and

(f) in the case of a person not being an original member, be elected by the Society in such manner as the bye-laws shall prescribe.

8. Any twelve or more persons qualified in accordance with the requirements of section 7 and agreeing to act in accordance with this Law and any rules and the bye-laws of their proposed society may apply to the Registrar to be registered as a society, and the persons by whom or on whose behalf such application is made shall furnish two copies of the proposed bye-laws of the proposed society together with such information with regard to the proposed society as the Registrar may require.

9. If the Registrar is satisfied that a society has complied with the provisions of this Law and the rules and that its proposed bye-laws are not contrary to the law or to the rules, he may, with the approval of the High Commissioner, register the society and its bye-laws.

10. A certificate of registration signed by the Registrar shall be conclusive evidence that the society therein mentioned is duly registered unless it is proved that the registration of the society has been cancelled.

11.—(1) No amendment of the bye-laws of a registered society shall be valid until the same has been registered under this Law, for which purpose a copy of the amendment shall be forwarded to the Registrar.

(2) If the Registrar is satisfied that any amendment of the bye-laws is not contrary to this law or to the rules, he may, if he thinks fit, register the amendment.

(3) When the Registrar registers an amendment of the bye-laws of a society, he shall issue to the society a copy of the amendment certified by him, which shall be conclusive evidence that the same is duly registered.

12. The Registrar shall prepare and present in each year to the High Commissioner, a report of his proceedings and of the principal matters transacted during the preceding calendar year, together with a statement showing the financial position of all registered societies on the 31st December last preceding.

13. The Registrar may, with the approval of the High Commissioner, prepare and cause to be circulated, for the use of societies, forms of bye-laws, accounts, balance-sheets and valuations as models for all societies.

#### *Rights and Liabilities of Members.*

14. The liability of each member of a society for the debts of the society shall be unlimited.

15. Each member shall, notwithstanding the amount of his interest in a society, have only one vote, and shall only be allowed to exercise such vote in person.

16. All monies payable by a member to a registered society under this Law or under any bye-laws of such society shall be a debt due from such member to the society and shall be recoverable as such at law.

#### *Duties of Societies.*

17. Every society shall have an address registered with the Registrar to which all communications and notices may be sent, and shall send to the Registrar notice of every change thereof.

18. Every society shall keep a copy of this Law and of the rules governing such society and of its bye-laws and of its last balance-sheet and any report of the Auditors open to inspection free of charge at all reasonable times at the registered address of the society.

19.—(1) The Registrar shall audit or cause to be audited by some person authorized by him by general or special order in writing in this behalf the accounts of every registered society once at least in every year.

(2) The audit under sub-section (1) shall include an examination of overdue debts, if any, and a valuation of the assets and liabilities of the society.

(3) The Registrar or any person authorized by general or special order in writing in this behalf by the Registrar shall at all times have access to all the books, accounts, papers and securities of a society, and every officer of the society shall furnish such information in regard to the transactions and working of the society as the person making such inspection may require.

(4) Subject to the general directions and instructions of the Registrar, the Commissioner of the District in which the society is carrying on business shall be deemed to be a person authorized within the meaning of the preceding sub-section.

#### *Privileges of Registered Societies.*

20. The registration of a society shall render it a body corporate by the name under which it is registered, with perpetual succession and a common seal, and with power to hold property, to enter into contracts, to institute and defend suits and other legal proceedings and to do all things necessary for the purposes of its constitution.

21. Subject to any prior claim of the Government, or of a landlord in respect of rent or any money recoverable as rent, a society shall be entitled in priority to other creditors to enforce any outstanding demand due to the society from a member or past member :—

(a) in respect of the supply of seed or manure or of the loan of money for the purchase of seed or manure—upon the crops or other agricultural produce of such member or person at any time within eighteen months from the date of such supply or loan ;

(b) in respect of the supply of cattle, fodder for cattle, agricultural or industrial implements or machinery, or raw materials for manufacture, or of the loan of money for the purchase of any of the foregoing things—upon any such things so supplied, or purchased in whole or in part from any such loan, or on any articles manufactured from raw materials so supplied or purchased.

22. The liability of a past member for the debts of a society as they existed at the time when he ceased to be a member shall continue for a period of two years from the date of his ceasing to be a member.

23. The estate of a deceased member shall be liable for a period of one year from the time of his decease for the debts of a registered society as they existed at the time of his decease.

24. Any register or list of members kept by any society shall be *prima facie* evidence of any of the following particulars entered therein :—

(a) the date at which the name of any person was entered in such register or list as a member ; and

(b) the date at which any such person ceased to be a member.

25. A copy of any entry in a book of a society regularly kept in the course of business shall, if certified in such manner as may be prescribed by the rules, be received in any suit or legal proceeding, as *prima facie* evidence of the existence of such entry, and shall be admitted as evidence of the matters, transactions and accounts therein recorded in every case where and to the same extent as the original entry itself is admissible.

26. The High Commissioner in Council may, by notification in the *Cyprus Gazette*, in the case of any society remit the stamp duties or fees with which, under any law for the time being in force, instruments executed by or on behalf of a society or by any officer or member and relating to the business of such society or any class of such instruments are respectively chargeable.

#### *Property and Funds of Societies.*

27. A society shall not make a loan to any person other than a member.

28. Save with the sanction of the Registrar, a society shall not lend money on the security of movable property.

29. No person other than a member of the society shall be accepted as surety for a loan.

30. A society may obtain loans from Government or the Loan Commissioners or otherwise on such terms as to interest or otherwise as the bye-laws shall provide, and the Government or the Loan Commissioners, if they shall think fit, may grant such loans accordingly. All applications made by a society to the Government or Loan Commissioners or to other persons must be reported immediately to the Registrar by such officer of the society as the Registrar may prescribe.

31. A society may receive and pay interest on deposits from members to such extent and under such conditions as shall be provided by the bye-laws.

32. No loan shall be made except for an approved purpose connected with some agricultural operation which by its profits should, in the opinion of the committee, enable the borrower to repay the loan, or for the redemption of land from an existing mortgage, or for the liquidation of debts of any kind whatsoever existing at the time of the admission of the borrower as a member of the society. The agricultural operations referred to above shall include the extension or improvement of the borrower's holding, and the purchase of manure, seed, cattle and implements or other similar purposes.

33. A society may deposit its funds or any part thereof in the Government Savings Bank or in such other banks as may be approved for this purpose by the Registrar.

34. No dividend or payment out of profits shall be paid to a member of a society, except as provided in Section 31, but all profits shall be carried to a fund to be called the Reserve Fund.

35.—(1) The Reserve Fund shall not be divided among the members, but may be applied to meet occasional deficiencies incurred by the society, and in case of dissolution any balance of the Reserve Fund after liquidation shall be invested as the Registrar may direct and the income derived therefrom shall be devoted to some useful purpose in the same District in which such society operated, in accordance with the bye-laws of such society, or in the absence of any such bye-laws in such manner as the Registrar shall determine.

(2) The principal of such Reserve Fund shall remain intact and so invested until such time as another society shall be established in the same area, when such principal may then be transferred to such new society for the purpose of forming a Reserve Fund under the conditions provided under this Law; provided that if after a period of five years has elapsed from the date of dissolution no such new society shall have been established as aforesaid the Registrar may apply the whole or any part of the said Reserve Fund to some useful purpose within the district in which such dissolved society operated in such manner and under such conditions as he may think fit.

#### *Inspection of Affairs.*

36.—(1) The Registrar may of his own motion or on the application of the Commissioner of the District, and shall on the application of a majority of the committee, or of not less than one-third of the members, hold an inquiry or direct some person authorized by him by order in writing in this behalf to hold an inquiry into the constitution, working and financial condition of a registered society, and shall communicate the result of such inquiry to the person (if any) desiring him to hold such inquiry and to the Committee.

(2) All officers and members of the society shall furnish such information in regard to the affairs of the society and shall produce all such books as the Registrar or the person authorized by the Registrar may require.

37.—(1) The Registrar shall, on the application of a creditor of a society, inspect or direct some person authorized by him by order in writing in this behalf to inspect the books of the society :

Provided that—

- (a) the applicant satisfies the Registrar that the debt is a sum then due, and that he has demanded payment thereof and has not received satisfaction within a reasonable time; and
  - (b) the applicant deposits with the Registrar such sum as security for the costs of the proposed inspection as the Registrar may require.
- (2) The Registrar shall communicate the results of any such inspection to the creditor.
38. Where an inquiry is held under section 36 or an inspection is made under section 37, the Registrar may apportion the costs, or such part of the costs, as he may think right, between the society, the members or creditor demanding an inquiry or inspection (if any), and the officers or former officers of the society.
39. Any sum awarded by way of costs under section 38 may be recovered on application to the proper District Court.

#### *Dissolution of Society.*

40.—(1) If the Registrar, after an inquiry has been held under section 36 or after an inspection has been made under section 37 or on receipt of an application made by three-fourths of the members of a registered society, is of opinion that the society ought to be dissolved, he may cancel the registration of the society.

(2) Any member of a society may, within two months from the date of an order made under sub-section (1) appeal from such order.

(3) Where no appeal is presented within two months from the making of an order cancelling the registration of a society, the order shall take effect on the expiration of that period.

(4) Where an appeal is presented within two months, the order shall not take effect until it is confirmed by the appellate authority.

(5) The authority to which appeals under this section shall lie shall be the High Commissioner in Council.

(6) Any cancellation or the result of any appeal shall be published in the *Cyprus Gazette*, and be posted up in the town or village or group of villages in which the society has operated.

41. The Registrar shall, by order in writing, cancel the registration of the society if at any time it is proved to his satisfaction that the number of the members has been reduced to less than twelve. Provided that if the number shall be reduced below twelve by the death of a member, a period of two months may be allowed by the Registrar for the election of a new member.

42. Where the registration of a society is cancelled the society shall cease to exist as a corporate body—

- (a) in the case of cancellation in accordance with the provisions of section 40, from the date the order of cancellation takes effect;
- (b) in the case of cancellation in accordance with the provisions of section 41, from the date of the order.

43.—(1) Where the registration of a society is cancelled under section 40 or section 41, the Registrar may appoint a competent person to be liquidator of the society and may remove him.

(2) A liquidator appointed under sub-section (1) shall have power—

- (a) to take possession of all the assets of the society and all books and documents of such society;
- (b) to institute and defend suits and other legal proceedings on behalf of the society by his name of office;
- (c) to determine the contribution to be made by the members and past members of the society respectively to the assets of the society;
- (d) to investigate all claims against the society, and subject to the

provisions of this Law to decide questions of priority arising between the claimants ;

(e) to determine by what persons and in what proportion the costs of the liquidation are to be borne ; and

(f) to give such directions in regard to the collection and distribution of the assets of the society as may appear to him to be necessary for winding up the affairs of the society.

(3) Where an appeal from any order made by a liquidator under this section is provided for by the rules, it shall lie to the District Court. Such an appeal shall lie in cases of a decision under sub-section (2) (c), (d), and (e).

44. Subject to any rules, a liquidator appointed under this Law shall, in so far as such powers are necessary for carrying out the purposes of this Law, have power to summon and enforce the attendance of witnesses, to examine witnesses on oath and to compel the production of accounts, books and documents in the same manner and with the same powers as those possessed by a District Court or a Judge thereof.

45. Orders made under section 43 shall, on application, be enforced as follows :—

(a) when made by a liquidator, by any Civil Court having local jurisdiction in the same manner as a decree of such Court ;

(b) when made by a District Court on appeal, in the same manner as a decree of such Court made in any suit pending therein.

46. Save in so far as is hereinbefore expressly provided, no Civil Court shall have any jurisdiction in respect of any matter connected with the dissolution of a society under this Law.

#### *Miscellaneous.*

47. All sums due from a society or from an officer or member or past member of a society as such to the Government, including any costs awarded to the Government under section 43, may be recovered in the same manner as arrears of revenue. Sums due from a registered society to Government and recoverable as above may be recovered, firstly, from the property of the society and, secondly, from the members or, if they are deceased, from their estates.

#### *Rules.*

48.—(1) The High Commissioner in Council may make rules to carry out the purposes of this Law.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may—

(a) prescribe the forms to be used and the conditions to be complied with in the making of applications for the registration of a society and the procedure in the matter of such applications ;

(b) prescribe the matters in respect of which a society may or shall make bye-laws and for the procedure to be followed in making, altering and abrogating bye-laws, and the conditions to be satisfied prior to such making, alteration or abrogation ;

(c) prescribe the conditions to be complied with by persons applying for admission or admitted as members, and provide for the election and admission of members, and the payment (if any) to be made before the exercise of the right of membership ;

(d) provide for general meetings of the members and for the procedure at such meetings and the powers to be exercised by such meetings ;

(e) provide for the constitution, appointment, suspension and removal of the members of the committee and council and other officers, and for the procedure at meetings of the committee and council, and for the powers to be exercised and the duties to be performed by the committee and council and other officers ;

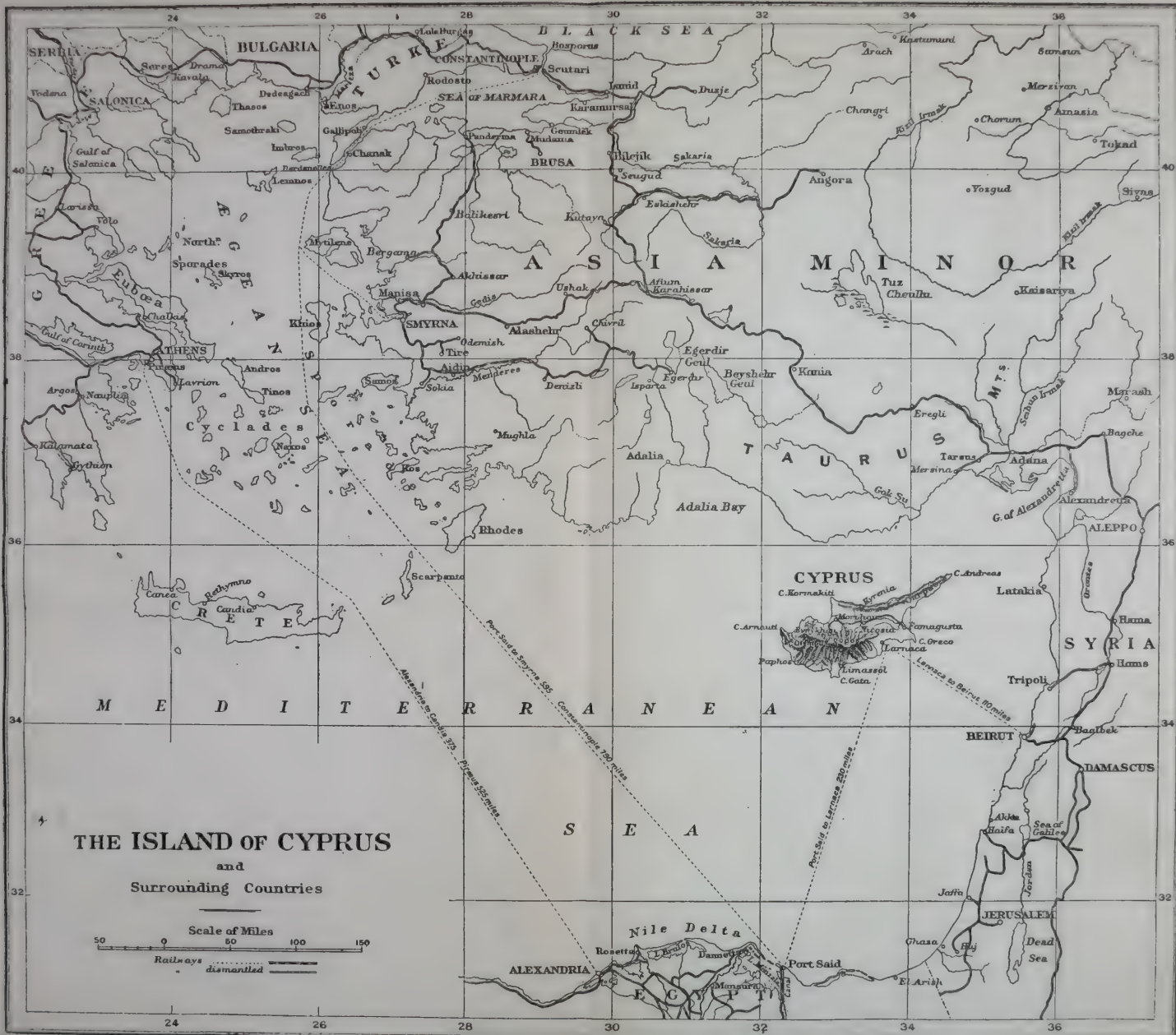
- (f) prescribe the accounts and books to be kept by a society and provide for the audit of such accounts and the charges, if any, to be made for such audit, and for the periodical publication of a balance-sheet showing the assets and liabilities of a society ;
  - (g) prescribe the returns to be submitted by a society to the Registrar and provide for the persons by whom and the form in which such returns shall be submitted ;
  - (h) provide for the persons by whom and the form in which copies of entries in books of societies may be certified ;
  - (i) provide for the formation and maintenance of a register of members ;
  - (j) provide that any dispute touching the business of a society between members or past members of the society or persons claiming through a member or past member or between a member or past member or persons so claiming and the committee or any officer shall be referred to the Registrar for decision, or if he so directs to arbitration, and prescribe the mode of appointing an arbitrator or arbitrators and the procedure to be followed in proceedings before the Registrar or such arbitrator or arbitrators, and the enforcement of the decisions of the Registrar or the awards of arbitrators ;
  - (k) provide for the withdrawal and expulsion of members and for the liabilities of past members ;
  - (l) prescribe the amount, the rate of interest and other conditions upon which a society may borrow loans or accept deposits, and the periods for which such loans and deposits may be accepted and made ;
  - (m) prescribe the conditions to be complied with by the members applying for loans, the period for which loans may be made, and the amount which may be lent, to an individual member or in the aggregate ;
  - (n) provide for the formation and maintenance of reserve funds, and the objects to which such funds may be applied, and for the investment of any funds under the control of the society ;
  - (o) prescribe the extent to which a society may limit the number of its members ;
  - (p) subject to the provisions of section 43, determine in what cases an appeal shall lie from the orders of the Registrar and prescribe the procedure to be followed in presenting and disposing of such appeals ; and
  - (q) prescribe the procedure to be followed by a liquidator appointed under section 43, and the cases other than those provided in section 43 in which an appeal shall lie from the order of such liquidator.
49. All rules made under section 48 shall be published in the *Cyprus Gazette* and on such publication shall have effect as if enacted in this Law.

Passed in Council the fifth day of June, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen.

E. H. HEIDENSTAM,

*Clerk of Council.*









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